The Journal

OF

PHILOLOGY.

EDITED BY

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VOL. XVII.

London and Cambridge:
MACMILLAN AND CO.
DEIGHTON, BELL AND CO. CAMBRIDGE
1888

17248

Cambridge:

PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AND SONS,

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.

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THE ARMY OF ALEXANDER.

Greek Tactics have hardly received in modern days a due proportion of that research which has often been devoted to less important phases of ancient history: and small wonder; for while the task of sifting the meagre and contradictory evidence which must be gleaned with infinite labour from second-rate authors is no light one, the final results have always been, and always will be, extremely unsatisfactory. We know almost nothing of the structure or evolutions of either an Athenian or a Theban army in the field: the fuller information we possess of the Spartan system only serves to perplex the more: and the last development of Greek tactics, the organisation of Philip and Alexander, is hardly less obscure. Time is to blame for the most part; for, if we may trust Aelian's preface, there were dissertations enough on the subject extant in his day; but the work of Pyrrhus has perished with that of Polybius, and we have only the single treatise which, in its earlier and later editions, has come down under the names of Arrian and Aelian. The later tacticians, the two Emperors Leo and Constantine Porphyrogenneta, Vegetius and the like, confine themselves, when they make mention in passing of the Macedonian army, to mere repetitions of Aelian: and in these days

it has been found more profitable to distrust the assistance of the latter, and couple the brief notice in Polybius with the various morsels of information to be gleaned from the extant historians of Alexander the Great; and nine-tenths of these morsels fall from the table of Arrian. Not that the treatise of Aelian (to call it so for the sake of convenience) is valueless: it is often confirmed in a remarkable manner by the actual records of Alexander's actions, notably in the evolutions in the field, and in much of the nomenclature; but unless so confirmed it cannot be trusted, for its author was not competent to distinguish the later from the earlier developments of the Macedonian system, and it must be remembered that it was the former only that the Romans knew from personal experience. Armies are conservative bodies, and will keep similar names for corps of very different character and strength in successive generations, while the principal evolutions of large bodies of men must always be very similar; therefore the armies of the later Seleucidae and kings of Macedonia were doubtless replete with memories and survivals of the organisation which conquered Asia: but a work based only upon these later armies cannot be accepted as an accurate record of the earlier. The treatise in question is manifestly a record of a system, which had become 'systematised' to the last degree by ages of mechanical warfare: and there is little trace in it of the mobile army of Gaugamela and the Hydaspes.

In modern days the subject has been treated hastily by Sainte-Croix, and unsatisfactorily by Droysen: Mützell in a long note on Curtius v. 2 has dealt with it carefully, but hardly in sufficient detail: Grote merely abstracts his predecessors, and Thirlwall sums it up in two pages. Rustow and Köchly have devoted much more care and labour to the subject, but in a somewhat inaccessible form; and Admiral la Gravière does not add to his many good qualities that of a minute or critical searcher. Some valuable information is to be gathered from a translation of Aelian by Charles Bingham, sometime serving in the Low Countries in the early part of the seventeenth century: the gallant lieutenant lived in days when the pike was still in general use, and his illustrations

and criticisms are so far profitable; and a detailed account of the battles of Granicus and Gaugamela, as well as a critique of Arrian's "Tactica," will be found in the "Antiquités Militaires" of M. Guischard, a captain in the service of the Margrave of Bade-Dourlach and the States-General of the United Provinces in the middle of the last century. His technical presentment of the battles is careful and graphic, but marred by the most unaccountable mistakes, and an ignorance of the real nature of some of Alexander's corps, for example, the Hypaspists. This is a miscellaneous, but considerable body of inquirers, and the object of the present paper will be to avoid what has been already proved by them, and to deal only with such points as are misapprehended or disputed.

Of the army of Philip apart from that of his son, we know next to nothing: it is very probable that the phalanx which so nearly came to grief at Chaeronea was a heavier and more cumbrous organisation than that which scrambled up the crumbling banks of the Pinarus in the face of the enemy: but we must be content to study it as it was in Asia, and possibly the differences were not material. It is the most famous of the Macedonian arms, this serried mass of linked shields and protruding spears, the phalanx proper, which has been described by Polybius and Curtius, and which struck terror to the soul of an Aemilius; but it may be that an inaccurate general impression has somewhat obscured the details. The length of its distinctive arm, the *σάρισσα*, has been so much discussed that one or two points only in the controversy need be touched upon: as is well known, our ancient authorities, with only one exception, assert that it was from 14 to 16 *cubits* in length, i.e. 21 to 24 feet, and incredible as such dimensions seemed, no one openly questioned it till Köchly, in a short treatise on the Tactica of Aelian and Arrian, maintained that the cubits should be read feet, and, adhering to this view in his larger work, he was followed without comment by Droysen; Grote however in an appendix to the 92nd chapter of his history has, apparently to his own satisfaction, rehabilitated the old theory. Before considering the question on its own merits, it may be remarked that Grote

has taken no notice in that appendix of the fact, emphasised by Köchly whom he professes to answer, that the earliest and best edition of Aelian's Tactica, that namely which has come down to us under the name of Arrian, definitely gives feet and not cubits: the MSS. may be altered, but there is the reading. Leo Tacticus, Constantine and the rest merely copy Aelian, and go for nothing, and we need only take account further of Polybius, and probabilities. Now Aelian is discounted by the variant of Arrian, and, with all appreciation of Polybius as a historian, Alexander's tactics are not perhaps his strongest point: he knew too much of the later army to be clear as to the earlier; and there is no question that he is sadly at fault in his criticism of Callisthenes' account of Issus[1]: the latter was a liar of no mean order, but he was capable, an eye-witness, and without the smallest motive for falsification in this case: and when Polybius denies the possibility of the Macedonian phalanx crossing the Pinarus, it is manifest that he is judging Alexander's tactics by the experience of the succeeding century, when the incapacity of later generals to manœuvre so complex and multiform an arm as the phalanx of Issus, had induced its relapse into a jointless, mechanical body which, on the authority of Polybius himself, was fatally disordered by the least inequality of ground: is it conceivable that such was the force which Alexander led up the Cilician and Persian Gates, or opposed to Spitamenes and his inaccessible Scythians? Polybius may be right about the *σάρισσα* of later days: he must have seen it often enough, and could hardly make an error of seven feet in its length; and, himself the author of a lost treatise on Tactics, he is too good an authority for us to dispute now: but if so it is small wonder that the Romans cut the phalanx to pieces: for if anyone is inclined to agree with Mr Grote that even a specially-trained, athletic man-at-arms can make easy play with a 21-foot pike, held either three or six feet from the butt, let him try to poise for even a quarter of an hour a punt-pole double the usual length, and furnished with a heavy iron head: and he will perhaps agree that such a weapon must

[1] xii. 17 foll.

have been the last resort of military incompetency. Remember also that the longest Swiss pike was never more than 17 feet, and its bearer was encumbered with neither shield nor sword, whereas the Macedonian hoplite had both. The smallest disarrangement and the top-heavy phalanx must have been in hopeless difficulties, as indeed Polybius is forced to allow that it was.

A further argument against the longer *σάρισσα* may legitimately be drawn from the shield and sword with which the phalangite was also armed: the *σάρισσα* in fact must have been of such dimension that on occasion it could be wielded with one hand: for example at Issus it seems that recourse had to be made to the sword to win the farther bank of the Pinarus; and this must often have happened: what then became meanwhile of the *σάρισσαι*? they could hardly be all abandoned. The word is also used of the arm of a certain class of cavalry, the *σαρισσοφόροι ἱππεῖς*, and they are evidently distinguished by its use from the Companions etc. who used the short spear (*ξυστὸν* or *λόγχη*), and there can be no doubt that it was the same as the infantry-spear: it must accordingly be one-handed in this case, and if 14 feet long, would not be unlike the Cossack lance of the present day. Thrice also in Arrian[1] we hear of Alexander on emergency mounting his *foot* as they stood, and it is possible, more especially from the expression used on one such occasion (iii. 21), that they retained their *σάρισσαι*. Lastly is it conceivable that when Alexander snatches a *σάρισσα* from a guard, stabs Clitus, and props it against the wall with intent to throw himself on it, he was rushing about a banquet-hall with a twenty-one foot spear? Curiously enough Aelian himself (Tactica xii.) when theorising, and not professing to relate history, counsels a spear of a maximum length of only twelve feet.

If the heavy-armed phalanx of Alexander is studied in his proper historians apart from the tactical treatises, two things at once attract attention: first the mobility and adaptability of the machine, and second, its subordinate place in the military system. As regards the first point much has been already said

[1] i. 6: iii. 21: iv. 23.

in the question of the σάρισσα, and further than that we will only notice the miscellaneous character of the work that it has to do. It marches almost incredible distances, and that usually under certain impedimenta[1]: for example, if we can believe such figures, on one occasion it marched 150 miles in three days (Arr. iv. 6), while 30 to 40 miles a day is accounted a mere trifle, and that when crossing the Taurus[2]. Again we frequently read of an advance δρόμῳ, at Gaugamela in company with the cavalry, and in Persis in the wildest mountain work[3]: at Gaza and in Sogdiana[4] it climbs ladders, besides dislodging the Indians of Sangala from their strange and difficult lager of waggons. The phalanx that does this work cannot be the stiff, cumbrous machine that its name naturally connotes. In what respects then did it differ? Firstly, as has been already pointed out, in wielding a pike only 14 feet long at the most. Secondly, in its much shallower formation: sixteen files is the depth universally assigned, on the authority of the tacticians (though they lay down no positive rule and are notoriously inconsistent in their numeration with Alexander's corps), and of the organisation described in Arrian vii. 23: but in this very passage occurs the word which should have precluded such an error, the term δεκάς, used also in a passage of the contemporary Anaximenes preserved by Photius[5]. Alexander made files of 16 at Babylon, but this is introduced as an innovation on the old δεκάς, designed to counteract the loss of weight of armour by increase of numbers: Alexander was not the man to be bound by a formal number, and a δεκάς may have been eight or twelve as exigencies of space etc. required: and Polybius redeems his unnecessary criticisms of Callisthenes by preserving thereby the record of the eightfold files at Issus[6]. Particular formations like the wedge of Gaugamela, and that used against Glaucias, were due to the deploying of files one behind the other: but whenever Alexander

[1] vid. Arr. iii. 8.

[2] cf. also Plut. Alex. 42 for an average of 37½ miles per day.

[3] cf. iii. 14. 18: iv. 26.

[4] ibid. ii. 27: iv. 2.

[5] Sub v. πεζέταιροι: Harpocration also πεζέταιροι with same note: πεζαίτεροι Suidas and Ulpian in Ol. II. p. 29.

[6] xii. 19.

attacked in line, as he did, according to Frontinus[1], whenever he had a strong force compared with his enemy, or when leading flying columns, there can be little doubt that his phalanx was comparatively shallow. Thirdly, in being handled, as only a born general could have handled it, in smaller units: this needs no detailed proof. And lastly, in all probability in being at all times mixed with lighter files: this is advanced with some hesitation, as being rank heresy; but it is very difficult to explain in any other way several passages in the historians. Again and again in Arrian (especially i. 27 and ii. 4) we find a clear distinction between lighter and heavier hoplites of the phalanx (and that without reference to the Hypaspists or "velites"): and in at least two passages (Arrian i. 21: iii. 26) if not three (v. 17 ?) hoplites seem to use missile weapons. Perhaps the 'old guard' of Diodorus xvii. 27 means merely the foremost files of the phalanx, and may afford an explanation of the dubious term *πεζέταιροι*, of which more anon. But at any rate, if on such slight evidence we may conjecture that the rear files (except probably the *οὐραγὸς* himself) discharged missiles instead of pushing on the front, we should explain the mobility of the first phalanx, graduate the change to the second, and give four men at any rate in each file a better employment than catching arrows on their spears, and shoving the men in front[2]. Following this conjecture we have as the largest constituent of Alexander's "ever victorious army" from six to ten battalions, presenting a front of five pikemen, who on occasion could use the sword at close quarters, comple-

[1] Strateg. 5.

[2] As to the number of hoplites and the strength of the *τάξεις* or *φάλαγγες* I have nothing new to say, nor can anything be made out beyond what Droysen and others have done. As to Curtius v. 2 on which much reliance has been based, the passage is altogether unworthy thereof: two-thirds of the chiliarchs mentioned there are nobodies: the number nine, agreeing with the 9000 Macedonians of Diodorus xvii. 17 (i.e. 12,000 minus 3000 Hypaspists), means nothing, for that number had greatly increased before Alexander reached Susa: the tactical unit of the phalanx was no more a pentecosiarchy before, than it was a chiliarchy afterwards: and the apparent increase of the *τάξεις* in India to ten is more than accounted for by the rapid increase of the army, which might be guessed, even if we did not know it for a fact from Arrian's Indica, chap. 20.

mented perhaps by from two to four lighter hoplites armed with javelins, and closed by an *οὐραγός*, probably armed also with the pike. This is of such a nature as to be used against a Greek phalanx or Scythian horsemen with equal success: and its component individuals are equally ready to assault a wall, or throw up works against it. In short we have here the best parallel to the Roman infantry. But it is a great and frequent error to regard it as the flower of Alexander's army, the centre to which the other corps were merely subordinate: if we have learnt from the tacticians to see in the phalanx of pike-men the essential Macedonian organisation whereby the world was conquered, a careful study of Alexander's historians will soon show that its general had no such high idea of it: nor had he much reason to do so, for if it had been a matter only of pikemen, his earliest experience of a pitched battle, Chaeronea to wit, would have been less fortunate. So far as we can trace the details of that engagement, the victory appears to have been due solely to the cavalry of the right wing. And it is to this cavalry, Companion and Thessalian, and to the light corps of Hypaspists that the chief glory of the Asiatic conquest belongs: every corps did its own work indeed in Alexander's magnificent system, and each depended on the other, but three parts of every victory were won without the phalanx at all. Take the great battles in review: at Granicus the heavy-armed never crossed the stream till the victory was won, and the battle is invariably alluded to as a *ἱππομαχία* (Arrian i. 15, 16, 17; ii. 7; iii. 22; iv. 8): the phalanx was used only to break up the helpless *στῖφος* of Greeks, standing their ground rather *ἐκπλήξει* than *λογισμῷ βεβαίῳ*: at Issus the cavalry on each wing again bore the brunt of the battle, the heavy troops being engaged, according to Diodorus (xvii. 33), for a short time only, but long enough to show that they were by no means able to do what they liked with Darius' mercenaries: Issus would have long hung in the balance, possibly been lost, but for the cavalry. At Gaugamela the phalanx on the level ground was brought up earlier and it certainly helped by its pressure in the rout of the Persian left wing: but here again it was subordinate to the Companion cavalry, while the

destruction of the Persian centre and right (remembering that the centre was really opposite to the Macedonian left) was due to the heroic efforts of the Thessalian and Greek allies, helped later in the work of breaking and butchering the heavy masses of fugitives by the Companions returning from the pursuit of the Persian left. Lastly at the Hydaspes there was apparently only one battalion of heavy-armed engaged at all: and throughout the campaigns in Central Asia the Companions, Hypaspists, Agrianians, archers, horse-archers and the like form the bulk of every flying column, sometimes accompanied by one τάξις of heavy-armed as at the Persian Gates, sometimes by two as against the Arians, seldom by more and often by none, as against the Aspasians and for part of the campaign against the Malli: picked men from several τάξεις are however sometimes employed. Again in the distribution of rewards and prize-money the phalangites are held far inferior to the horse, obtaining on one occasion only two minae per man as against six, on another ten minae as against a talent[1]. We are told that Philip drafted all his best men into the cavalry, reserving to the πεζέταιροι those of less merit; and a command in the Companions seems to have ranked above one in the foot, if we may judge from Clitus, Perdiccas, Craterus and Coenus, who, while commanding τάξεις of infantry, have also ἱππαρχίαι in the Companions[2]: curiously we do not hear of these officers as cavalry commanders till quite late, and it may have been a special mark of promotion. It should be noted that these four officers, together with Hephaestion, a cavalry officer also, are those entrusted at different times after Parmenion's death with the most important independent commands. Nothing shows the conscious inferiority of the foot to the horse so clearly as the outcome of the dissension after Alexander's death; as soon as it becomes a question of close fighting the phalanx yields tamely to the Companions and Meleager flies without striking a blow[3]. Such was the subordinate position of the phalanx,

[1] Diod. xvii. 63: 74: cf. Curt. vii. 5.

[2] vid. Arr. v. 22, vi. 6 for Clitus: v. 12, 22: vi. 6 for Perdiccas: v. 11 for Craterus: v. 16 for Coenus. These dual commands are curious, and will be discussed later under πεζέταιροι.

[3] Curtius x. 7 foll. and Diod. xviii. 2.

as befitted the *essentially inferior* arm, essentially inferior as characteristic of a lower grade of tactics, the corps of the commonplace general, safer and easier for him to use than cavalry and light troops which must be handled in many units; but inferior to these when directed by a master of strategy. Alexander used it for just such purposes as it was adapted to serve —to break up a counter-phalanx of Greeks, who would stand to receive it; to press upon the disordered mass at Gaugamela, while the cavalry rode through and through from the flanks: and as soon as he can alter its formation by the introduction of Asiatics he does so, seeing he had no more Greeks or mail-clad Indians to meet. Whether he would have recalled it to its early form to meet Italian infantry, cannot be determined; but certainly not till then. It would be idle to depreciate the work that it did for Alexander, laborious and useful, if not so brilliant as the achievements of the cavalry and Hypaspists: but, if to one can be awarded the praise where all combined in ordered effort, it was these latter, and not the phalanx, that conquered Asia. A word on the disputed term πεζέταιροι: setting aside those explanations of Ulpian[1] that are apparently due to defective orthography, we are left with the information that the term includes all Macedonians in the army outside the cavalry. This view has been accepted by Droysen, and, following him, by Grote and others, and is the generally accepted one. There is another which restricts it to the Hypaspists, enunciated by Sainte-Croix, and repeated in the Classical Dictionary: carelessness or ignorance could alone originate a theory which half-a-dozen or more passages in Arrian at once refute[2]. Whoever these πεζέταιροι were, they at any rate did *not* include the Hypaspists at all, and so far Droysen's view is also incorrect: these latter *may* have been called ἑταῖροι like the cavalry, but never πεζέταιροι. Must we then take πεζέταιροι as signifying all the Macedonian heavy-armed? The term is used eight times by Arrian, and not at all by our other extant historians: in only one of these eight (i. 28) does it seem in the least to connote all the τάξεις of the heavy-armed,

[1] Note on Demosth. Olynth. II. 17. [2] See, among others, i. 28 and vi. 21.

and this may well not be so, for even if Alexander had all his force with him in Pisidia, it is inconceivable that he should deploy the whole battle array against the Telmessians: Arrian's account of this campaign in the interior of Asia Minor is extremely scanty, and very probably his brevity and hurry to get to Issus, has led us to confuse a flying column with a full array. In the other seven passages the term is always used of single battalions, or when an expeditionary force is made up for particular purposes of a part only of the army: in ii. 23 it is used of the brigade of Coenus only (*ἡ Κοίνου τάξις οἱ πεζέταιροι καλούμενοι*) detached to assault Tyre: in iv. 23, a confused account of a flying column taken by Alexander to subdue the country between the Cabul River and the Indus, the brigades of Clitus, Gorgias, Meleager and probably Perdiccas, are all absent: in v. 22, the attack on Sangala, they are ranged next to Perdiccas' *ἱππαρχία*, but much of the army does not come up till later: in vi. 6 the term is applied to Peithon's *τάξις*, which was probably Coenus' before his death: in vi. 21, the *πεζέταιροι* are taken in a flying column which is made up of no one complete corps, e.g. half the Hypaspists and the *ἄγημα*, and one *ἴλη* from each *ἱππαρχία* of the Companions accompanying the expedition. Hephaestion is left with the bulk of the army, and it is only after he has rejoined that the phrase *ἡ πολλὴ στρατιά* is used: in vii. 11, the Macedonians complain that their king is creating Persian *πεζέταιροι* as well as Argyraspids and *ἀγήματα*: here again the suggestion is of a corps d'élite: and finally in vii. 2, the *πεζέταιροι* are mentioned as having accompanied the Hypaspists as Alexander's immediate attendants when he visited Diogenes: could he have paraded Corinth with his whole phalanx? All these passages tend to suggest a corps d'élite, a part only of the phalanx, if of the phalanx at all. Furthermore in four of these passages they are called *οἱ πεζέταιροι οἱ καλούμενοι*, a qualification never used by Arrian of any other corps, although it might very properly have been added to the somewhat anomalous *ὑπασπισταί*. What then was the singularity that induced this phraseology? and what is actually meant by the term? The question cannot from our authorities be answered with cer-

tainty: but we can guess. If we had only ii. 23 and vi. 6, we should at once determine them to be the brigade of Coenus, afterwards of Peithon, which took the right of the phalanx, and was often used on special service as for example to assault Aornos and cross the Hydaspes: and we should compare the position of Coenus at the Hyphasis as the spokesman of the army, and the expression ἡμεῖς οἱ προτιμώμενοι in his speech. Nor indeed, supposing the account of the preliminaries of i. 28 and iv. 23 to be not sufficiently full and clear, is there anything in the other passages to negative the supposition: and indeed in i. 28 there is one circumstance which lends it strong colour, namely the fact of these πεζέταιροι being commanded by Amyntas, son of Arrhabeus: now Coenus was, as we know, absent in Macedonia with the married soldiers for this winter, and did not rejoin before Gordium; and it is most probable that his brigade was placed pro hac vice under the leadership of Amyntas, who had commanded only the σαρισσοφόροι ἱππεῖς at Granicus, and was not nearly of sufficient standing to have taken the command of the whole left wing of a full battle-array. I should then conceive i. 28 to refer, as is by far most natural, to an expeditionary force, led against the insignificant, if troublesome, Pisidians, and consisting only of the light troops and this one brigade of Coenus. It may be remarked in passing that the terms φάλαγξ and τάξεις (in the plural) disprove nothing, for both are used by Arrian, as will be shown later, of anything and everything, horse or foot, light or heavy troops, large brigades or small companies. This is the best interpretation I can suggest, and it seems the true one, agreeing as it does with the only express statement in Arrian on the subject, namely the ἡ Κοίνου τάξις οἱ πεζέταιροι καλούμενοι of ii. 23: fulfilling the requirements of a corps d'élite, for the right of the phalanx was the place of most honour[1]; reducing Alexander's cortège in Corinth, to perhaps 1500 men[2] besides the Hypaspists who may in this passage be not the corps of that name, but body-guards like Peucestas; and lastly falling in with one

[1] Compare Aelian, Tact. x.

[2] This, accepting Diodorus' figures, must be the original strength of a τάξις, without its complement of allied and mercenary hoplites.

of Ulpian's explanations, that namely which represents them as the pick of the infantry. The allusion in the second Olynthiac[1] has no pretensions to be exact, nor would it militate against this hypothesis if it were so.

If this conjecture is not accepted I can only suggest two other explanations as just possible: (1) that the *πεζέταιροι* are the four brigades of Craterus, Coenus, Clitus, and Perdiccas, whose commanders had also *ἱππαρχίαι* in the cavalry. There is not much to recommend this, beyond the fact that it might suit iv. 23 a little better, for Craterus certainly seems to have been present in that column, though Perdiccas' and Clitus' brigades were not; and that it affords some explanation, though a vague one, of the existence of dual commands, for we could suppose that these officers, being really cavalry commanders, were honorary colonels of certain infantry regiments also, thence called *πεζέταιροι*. But against this must be set the fact that this very largely increases their number. (2) Following the hint furnished by their commander in i. 28, they might be conjectured not to be foot at all, but the *σαρισσοφόροι ἱππεῖς*, who are lost somehow after Granicus. The explanation of the name *πεζέταιροι* would then be the *ἑταῖροι* or Macedonian horsemen armed with the weapon of the foot, the *σάρισσα*; the word might in short be made to mean "mounted infantry." This would suit the *οἱ καλούμενοι πεζέταιροι* well enough, and we must suppose Coenus then to command cavalry at the Hydaspes in virtue of this regiment, and not as being a *ἵππαρχος* in the Companions. But this does not account for the other *ἱππαρχίαι*, unless they are all *σαρισσοφόροι*, which does not fit ii. 23; we should have to get rid of Amyntas; and it convicts Arrian of a most misleading confusion in the use of the word *τάξις* in ii. 23 and vi. 6, when he should have said *ἱππαρχία* to preclude the well-known infantry brigades. The first of these three explanations presents far the fewest difficulties, and has the most positive confirmation; but it is significant of the chaotic and scanty nature of our knowledge of Macedonian military affairs, that so many can be propounded.

[1] 17.

The Hypaspists may be speedily dismissed as presenting few difficulties: the best and most pliable of Alexander's infantry corps, they accompany him on all expeditions of danger and difficulty: and, forming the larger body-guard, are in a special sense *βασιλικοί* "The Royals." Their number is a little uncertain, but the generally conceded 3000 is probably right, divided possibly into two chiliarchies, commanded in India by Nearchus and Antiochus[1], and a third, the *ἄγημα*, probably commanded by Neoptolemus, the colonel (*ἀρχιυπασπιστής*) of the whole corps. The 6000 infantry who cross the Hydaspes are certainly a difficulty in the way of assigning as many as 3000 to the Hypaspists alone, seeing that we must take account of the archers (who were once at least 2000), the Agrianians who had been, at least nominally, 1000, and one, if not two, heavy brigades[2]: but we may safely assume both from probability and from the condition of the men at the Hyphasis, described in Diodorus and Arrian, that all these corps were by this time far below their full complement: this must have been especially the case with such a corps as the Agrianians which could not be recruited in Asia, and probably also with the Hypaspists themselves. Large reinforcements met Alexander on his return march through the Punjaub, but before that welcome addition his army was doubtless at a low ebb: and this fact may be taken with the rains that we hear of both in Arrian and Diodorus, as helping to turn Alexander back at the Hyphasis. Although the number 3000 does not necessarily follow from any expression of Arrian's (for the *two other* *χιλιαρχίαι* in iv. 30 might be other light troops), it is practically confirmed by the later number of the Argyraspids[3], at the time that they join Eumenes. The identity of this corps, famous for its unbeaten record in the days of the Diadochi, infamous for its foul betrayal of the best of all Alexander's heirs, with the *entire* body of Hypaspists is almost certain: the clue is afforded by Diodorus who ranks them at Gaugamela

[1] Arrian iv. 30.

[2] The word *τάξιν* being in the singular here (Arr. v. 13) makes this last point doubtful: but it is probably a manuscript error, cf. i. 6, or *τάξις* is used by inadvertence of the larger unit equivalent to two brigades.

[3] Diod. xviii. 58.

in the same place and under the same commander as Arrian's Hypaspists without mentioning the latter: and he is followed, though in the midst of some confusion, by Curtius. The use of the name Ἀργυράσπιδες on this day seems to be an anachronism by some three years, for Justin[1] is probably right in postponing their institution to a period subsequent to the death of Darius, when Alexander's position as Great King must have prompted this introduction of a purely Persian distinction. Arrian only once uses the term, and not till the mutiny at Opis: and perhaps they came in only with the "Medizing" changes of that period. Phylarchus, copied by Aelian, Athenaeus, and Polyaenus, seems to date them somewhat earlier, and he represents them as guarding Alexander's tent, another point of identity with the Hypaspists. In any case they were probably again raised in Alexander's last year of life to their full strength of 3000 shields, by the introduction of picked veterans from the phalanx, and represented to the Diadochi the most veteran corps that had fought under Philip and Alexander. Plutarch tells us in his life of Eumenes[2] that they were mostly sixty or seventy years old, long practised in war and never foiled, and their allegiance was anxiously courted and their demands conceded, till the good name won in fifty fights was lost on Eumenes' last battle-field; and it is a grim satisfaction to know that these hoary ruffians were never more allowed by their cynical purchaser "to look on Macedonia or the Greek Sea."

The rest of the light troops, Agrianians, archers, javelin-throwers, and so forth, were like all other ancient corps of similar arms, and present no difficulties: we may only point to Alexander's admirable disposition of them for special uses, to break the charge of Darius' chariots or Porus' elephants, and pass at once to the cavalry, the most effective of Alexander's troops. Of these the famous "Companions" are allowed to be the pick of the upper classes of Macedonia, and to have been divided into some eight "territorial" regiments: their principal arm was the ξυστόν, and both themselves and their horses were protected by body armour. The only serious contention centres round the numerical strength of the whole corps and of its

[1] xii. 7. [2] cap. 16.

parts. The common view is that of Mützell, based as much on Aelian as anything else, that they made up a full Ἐπίταγμα of 4000 men: and that the first division into eight ἴλαι of 500 each was afterwards superseded by a new arrangement, whereby the whole corps commanded by Hephaestion was split up into four parts, the ἄγημα under Clitus and later under Demetrius, and the three ἱππαρχίαι of Craterus, Perdiccas and Coenus. We know for a fact that certain changes were made in 331, and that there were four ἱππαρχίαι before the innovations of Opis (Arrian vii. 6): but what ground have we for this total of 4000, or rather 4096 if we keep strictly to Aelian's figures? Diodorus reckons the Cavalry Companions before Granicus at only 1500 men, and granting strong reinforcement at Susa, they could hardly have been trebled, more especially as they had lost 500 men at Gaugamela: moreover after the affair of Philotas they were divided into two parts, one being put under Hephaestion who is distinctly described later (Arrian vii. 14) as a *chiliarch.* The inference is obvious, to wit that the whole strength was 2000, a figure which clears the 1700 mentioned in vi. 14, and gives the ἱππαρχίαι their proper number of 500 each. In further proof we may adduce the total of 5000 horse taken across the Hydaspes, including 1000 horse-archers and other Asiatic cavalry, probably numerous: and again in Arrian's Indica (19) the Companions, Hypaspists, and all the archers make up 8000; deduct some 3000 Hypaspists, and at least as many archers, who, now that Alexander's force was swollen to 120,000 men, must have amounted to that at least, and we leave 2000 to the Companions. Probably this was also the total at Gaugamela, and the reinforcements of Amyntas only served to fill up the terrible losses then incurred, and if so the λόχοι (iii. 16) numbered 125 men (the ἐπιλαρχίαι of Aelian), the ἴλαι were 250 strong, answering to Aelian's ταραντιναρχίαι: and the later ἱππαρχίαι were technically correct in having 500 men apiece, a rare instance of coincidence in figures between the historians and the tacticians. This view supposes the ἄγημα or βασιλικὴ ἴλη to be included in the total, and not outside of it as is sometimes supposed. This sum is quite sufficient to represent the strength of this corps; if we increase

it we must also increase that of others, the Thessalians for example, who counterbalance it on the other wing, and Alexander's cavalry would soon assume exaggerated proportions; and the part that the Companions played after Alexander's death in opposing and overbearing the phalanx, need argue no greater strength, as they were in league then with all the allied cavalry, and were in possession of the elephants and engines.

The rest of the cavalry was made up of Thessalians and other Greeks; Paeonian *πρόδρομοι* who *may* be identical with the *σαρισσοφόροι ἱππεῖς*, being not *κατάφρακτοι* but a species of Cossack; and European and Asiatic mounted dart throwers and bowmen. The Dimachae of Curtius (v. 13) and Julius Pollux (Onom. i. 10. 132) were merely phalangites set for the emergency on horseback with their infantry shields. We remark as a refutation of repeated assertions of Demosthenes, how gallantly the Thessalians and other Greeks fought for Alexander and how averse many of them were to take their dismissal.

Elephants were apparently not used by Alexander in the battle-field: he must have had some fifteen the day after Gaugamela, and by various contributions the number swelled to 200 in India. But we never hear of their being used by him for fighting purposes, for which they are really very little adapted: they had been useless to Darius at Gaugamela, and fatal to Porus at the Hydaspes, and Alexander apparently estimated them as only formidable to horses. He sent his herd westwards with Craterus, for we hear of elephants at the funeral of Calanus, and no doubt used them as beasts of burden to carry his stores or siege train: much of the latter however went on board the fleet of Nearchus, and was once used with great effect to cover the landing of an attacking party on the coast of Beloochistan, an almost if not wholly unique instance of the employment of engines on ship-board in Greek times[1].

The same inutility doubtless accounts for Alexander's neglect of war-chariots, although he captured enough at Gaugamela, and afterwards received a large number as a present from the

[1] Arrian, Indica 24.

Indian Oxydracae: like elephants their advantage to their friends would depend entirely on their establishing a panic, for once inside the hostile phalanx they were capable of inflicting frightful injuries[1]: but Alexander showed at Gaugamela that they were powerless against troops well-handled and of good morale, for no horse will face a bank of pike-heads, if he can swerve, or escape through such lanes as were left by the manœuvre of the διφαλαγγία ἀμφίστομος: and further, level ground was all-essential to their charge. We do not hear that the Oxydracian presents were scythed, and their great number, 500, suggests that they were for transport rather than war purposes.

There are one or two special Companies about the person of the king which are somewhat obscure: we hear at various times of σωματοφύλακες οἱ βασιλικοί, of σωματοφύλακες simply, of παῖδες βασιλικοί or νἱοὶ τῶν φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὴν σωματοφυλακίαν ἀπεσταλμένοι and of special ἑταῖροι, usually denoted by the set phrase οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι. The δορυφόροι and ῥαβδοφόροι sometimes mentioned are probably only incorrect terms for some of these companies.

The first named, the royal body-guard, are mentioned at least six times by Arrian of Alexander himself (i. 6; iii. 17; iv. 3, 8, 30; vii. 11) and once of his Indian viceroy, Philip (vi. 27); they are infantry (i. 6) and from the same passage must be held distinct from the οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι, in spite of Droysen; as an infantry corps, bearing shields, they can hardly be identified with the Pages, who were evidently mere boys, and they cannot be phalangites, as from iv. 8 we see that they were armed with the λόγχη not the σάρισσα: iv. 3 and 30 militate against identification with the Hypaspists, who, told off in small companies on successive days for sentry duty, suggest themselves most naturally: but they might conceivably be the ἄγημα of that corps. Even this however would convict Arrian of careless writing in both the last mentioned passages, and it is perhaps best to consider them as a special light corps, reserved for guarding the royal person only: they need not be of any great number. The οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι are mani-

[1] Diod. xvii. 58.

festly the staff, partly on foot and partly mounted, taken from all arms, but principally from the cavalry-Companions, and acting as aides-de-camp and orderlies. They are consulted on momentous questions such as the advisability of beginning or continuing the siege of Tyre, and the answer to be returned to Darius' offers of peace. They are specially exhorted before Issus, and alone of the Macedonians accompany the angry king to his tent at Opis. Their being sent with the body-guard to occupy a hill in the Thracian campaign (i. 6) was manifestly exceptional, and due to a sudden and unforeseen emergency.

The *παῖδες βασιλικοί* are the 'Satellites' of Curtius, used rather for peaceful than warlike offices about the royal person: they act as gentlemen-in-waiting, and of the bed-chamber, equerries, secretaries and the like: but meantime, being studiously instructed in the military profession, and seeing much of actual war, they were fitted for the Companion-cavalry into which we hear they were drafted as subalterns, when too old to remain as pages.

It need hardly be said that all these companies are wholly distinct from the great *σωματοφύλακες*, seven and afterwards eight in number, specially honoured with the king's custody. The precise qualification for this post of honour is dubious: they cannot be regarded as the eight greatest officers of Alexander, for the list omits Craterus, the most trusted of all after Parmenion's death, Antipater the viceroy of Europe, Meleager, Gorgias, Amyntas, Nearchus and many more whose names are far greater than Aristinous, Peithon, or, but for his after fame, Lysimachus: nor can they be Alexander's "aequales," for, though that might suit Hephaestion and Ptolemy, it could hardly hold of Perdiccas and Leonnatus. Perhaps the most probable explanation is to regard them as analogous to the 'King's benefactors' in Persia, men who had rendered some signal, personal service to Alexander himself, possibly saved his life: the addition of Peucestas, for his defence of his king in the Mallian citadel, bears this out, and of the rest we know that Lysimachus saved him from a lion: Leonnatus, Hephaestion, and Perdiccas had had opportunities enough of such service, but history has not recorded the precise act, unless the part

played by the two first in the affair of Philotas, be sufficient to account for it. Ptolemy was we know promoted to the honour in return for his youthful fidelity to Alexander when under the displeasure of his father; Aristinous is forgotten by history, and Peithon is better known after Alexander's death than before.

Before concluding it may be worth while to note in detail the principal agreements and disagreements of the "Tactica" with the Alexander historians. It must however be premised that the most exact of the latter, Arrian, is far from precise in his use of technical terms: for example the term *φάλαγξ* is one moment used properly of one of the six brigades of the Macedonian army, or in its fuller technical significance of the whole heavy-armed mass: while presently, as at Issus, it is applied to Alexander's light troops only, who formed the oblique wing facing the mountains; then it includes the cavalry; and is finally applied also to the Persian array, as later to Porus' Indians. *Τάξις* again must have different meanings when applied to the heavy-armed, the *πεζέταιροι*, and the light troops, for the strength of the brigades of these corps was not the same. This looseness must always weaken Arrian's authority in his description of tactics, but we may allow for that and yet refuse to follow M. Guischard in altering Arrian to suit the doubtful figures of the Tactica. Of heavy-armed infantry Arrian uses the following terms: *φάλαγξ* in its larger and lesser significance, and *τάξις* as equivalent to the latter; *χιλιαρχία* and *πεντακοσιαρχία*; *ἑκατοστύς*; *λόχος* and *δεκάς* in apparently the same significance: of these only *ἑκατοστύς* and *δεκάς* are unknown to the Tactica: but while the lesser *φάλαγξ* is used by Aelian of a corps of 4096 men, the *τάξις* contains only 128: neither of these fits the 3000 of Alexander's brigades. Diodorus on one occasion speaks of these brigades as *στρατηγίαι*, which is an alternative term in the Tactica for the lesser phalanx; *χιλιαρχία* and *πεντακοσιαρχία* are exact coincidences, as is also *λόχος*, if we take its strength as always uncertain. The rest of Aelian's terms are not found in the historians. Of the light troops Arrian uses *τάξις* and *χιλιαρχία*, neither of which is known to Aelian in this connection. Of the

cavalry we hear of the λόχος, ἴλη, τετραρχία, χιλιαρχία, ἱππαρχία, and στῖφος: Diodorus adds σύστημα, but probably in no exact sense; of these the ἱππαρχία and ἴλη are alone found in Aelian. But while the ἱππαρχία of both seems to be a corps of 500, the ἴλη of Arrian must be the half, and not the eighth part of that: Arrian's λόχος is apparently the ἴλη of Aelian: στῖφος is used of light troops in the Tactica. The coincidence of mere names is therefore about 55 per cent., that of numbers only 30: we may therefore conclude that the strength of Alexander's corps was very different to the subdivisions of a later day, but that the well-known names very generally remained, even with altered significance. If Aelian's graduated scale corresponds to a real system at all, it was a later and more rigid development. We have already stated reasons for considering him mistaken in the details of the arms and array of the phalanx: but there can be no question that his account of its evolutions in the field and on the march, as well as the cavalry formations and words of command, is very valuable: the general uncertainty as to how far he is drawing on his own imagination in order to promote a mathematical sequence, or confusing Spartan or other Greek tactics with Macedonian, is minimised in this case: a large mass of pikemen or horsemen must always move in similar evolutions: and we have clear traces in the historians of many of the movements: for instance the φάλαγξ ἀμφίστομος and the διφαλαγγία ἀμφίστομος are manifest at Gaugamela; the ἐπικάμπιος φάλαγξ or the ὑπόταξις in the same battle: and the λοξὴ at Granicus: the square was used, as Aelian advises, in Thrace and Hyrcania by Alexander on the march, and as a fighting formation by his officers when surrounded by the Scythians: and the cursorily-described formation of the phalanx into an ἔμβολον by marching to right and left in Thrace and Gaugamela must have included a number of Aelian's movements, the κλίσις, ἐπιστροφή, ἐξελιγμός, διπλασιασμός and so forth. Without the Tactica we should know few of the technicalities of Macedonian warfare of whatever date, for our historians are either neglectful or ignorant of detail: but derived as it is from questionable sources we must give the historians the

preference, wherever they are sufficient. Still scant justice has been rendered of late to the Tactica, and no good purpose is served by quoting its most inaccurate portions in the Classical Dictionary.

Such was Alexander's army, a machine that would serve many ends, perfectly designed for its purpose, and magnificently handled: the niggardliness of the historians has left us scanty detail of its operations in the field, and the importance of Gaugamela has alone induced minute record: as M. Guischard observed, that battle is an epitome of all that is most effective in Greek tactics: the oblique wings precluding any attack on flank or rear; the bold march in the face of the enemy, which disconcerts the set Persian plans, and induces their cavalry to charge too soon; the complete foiling of the chariots; and the prompt formation of the bristling wedge thrown into the gap in the enemy's line: the charge of the Companions straight at the heart of the Persian host, well knowing how much a panic was worth; and the steadiness of the left wing when outflanked on the one side, and turned by the Indian horse on the other, are worthy of all praise. Or take the clear-sightedness which occupied all points at the Persian Gates, and kept thirty thousand men at bay with three hundred during the battle of Issus: the strategy which crossed the broad Hydaspes in the face of an enemy, and combated with such signal success his peculiar array: Alexander was never defeated, never checked or baffled; what general can show such a record after a score of battles? and withal a champion while a general: Napoleon used his sword once as generalissimo, Alexander was first in a breach, first in a charge, wounded a dozen times, himself the leader of every desperate expedition. Half of it was mad recklessness, the other was set purpose: professional armies were new as yet, and the machine needed animating with a personal feeling, if it were to submit to the labours which Alexander designed for its endurance. Remembering the impressionable nature of a veteran army, can we wonder at the passionate love evinced on the Acesines and the Tigris? and there is no more touching scene in history than was enacted in that chamber at Babylon, when the scarred veterans of fifty battles, who had mutinied for one more look at

their idol, filed in silence before the dying king speechless but able to look recognition and raise a hand, when a well-remembered face went by. It would absolve Arrian for many sins, that, without a word of rhetorical declamation on such a theme, he has only repeated the simple story of the Royal Diary concerning the illness and death at thirty-two of the conqueror and pacificator of half a world.

But there must be reason in hero worship: let no one think it a miracle that Alexander conquered the Persian Empire: a far meaner general could have done it as surely if at more cost, and perhaps only accident has robbed Agesilaus of some of the fame of Alexander. Alexander knew when he crossed the Hellespont that the odds were immeasurably in his favour: I firmly believe that Darius knew the same at Issus and Gaugamela. It is usual to regard this unlucky prince as coward and fool: those who call him the first forget his early history, those who call him the latter do not understand his conduct of the struggle with Macedonia. It is inconceivable that however dull had become the memory of Thermopylae and Plataea, Cunaxa at least had been forgotten by Greek or Persian: Darius knew that Greek mercenaries were his only chance on land, helped perhaps by the best of Asiatic cavalry if they would only stand to fight: Granicus robbed him of that hope. He did not yield his Empire at once as he might well have done, but gathered a host of all arms in the plains of Syria. We are told that he expected to annihilate the Macedonian, that in the vainglory of his heart he met Alexander on his own ground: lies both of them, the product of Greek vanity! the champion of younger days would not have fled from Issus so soon, if he had not known before the battle began that he had no chance, for the truth is manifest, and it is one of Admiral La Gravière's most valuable services that he has indicated it, that Darius was caught in a trap at Issus, unprepared and aghast at the position he was in: he had waited in the plains, in his chosen ground, for Alexander: but the latter, who never left his work half-done, was determined to secure Cilicia before meeting his rival: Darius, who must have found it no easy matter to retain and supply his unwieldy host, after weeks of anxious waiting,

hears that Alexander has passed Myriandrus and is apparently making for the Orontes valley by the Beilan Pass: is he then going to pass by after all, and leave the huge army to melt away? The Great King strikes his tents in haste, crosses Mount Amanus in pursuit of his enemy; Alexander turns, and the Persian is caught in a cul-de-sac! It may have been Alexander's design, it may have been, as his historians represent, his τύχη; in any case Issus was won before a blow had been struck, and the Great King only waited for the turning of his Greeks by the driving in of the cavalry, to resign his obstinate hopes. So again at Gaugamela: he had done all he could, levelled whole hills, collected fifty nations under his banner: it was no use and he knew it, but his desperate efforts to save a remnant of his kingdom by treaty had all failed, and he threw a last cast: the same thing happened as at Issus; the terrible wedge of Companions and infantry butchered his Greeks and cavalry, and he turned and fled: if the right wing and centre broke a little sooner for it, the inevitable result was only hastened. Consider for one moment the two armies: on the one side a mass of men of all languages and habits of warfare, fighting still as their fathers had fought under Cyrus, without discipline or system; willing to plunder but not to fight, and in the midst a phalanx of Greeks who knew by early and late experience that they were no match for their old foes; no-one worth calling a general in the whole army, and the best officers, Ariobarzanes, Spitamenes or Satibarzanes, inferior to a score of Alexander's marshals. On the other side the splendid machine we have described, reckoning its foes as nothing and commanded by one of the three best, if not himself actually the best general that the world had ever seen. The only difficulty was the amount of butchery to be got through in order to break up the army for ever; the two critical moments on the left wing were due to the pressure of mere weight, and nothing that happened there could have materially altered the event. Verily Alexander had some reason to sleep the sleep of careless certainty the night before! No; the Persian plum fell with a touch; and the numerical odds against Alexander did not mean so much as those against our square at Abu-klea, where fanaticism

rendered it almost impossible to create the needful panic. La Gravière's comparison is not unjust when he says that had Alexander stopped at Babylon he would rank at this day no higher than Fernando Cortez, although it must be granted that the weight of flesh at the command of Darius made him a more formidable foe than Montezuma. It was much that Alexander conquered Asia: it was more that he did it at incredibly small expense of life: but it was most that he left every province as much his own behind him, as if he had spent all his thirty years in its administration. This is his highest honour, and his military fame must take second place: that will always rest on the second count, on the economy of life whereby he certainly ranks above Napoleon, perhaps above Hannibal: on his campaigns beyond the Tigris, wherein his ever-happy dispositions discomfited every variety of enemy, of whom some had baffled every Great King since Cyrus; on the merited fortune that never failed before a wall or lost a battle, that never knew a Zama or a Waterloo.

Various speculators from Livy downwards have guessed at the probable event of a meeting between this general and army, and the Romans. Livy's patriotism permits but one answer, but the Roman historian of Rome is an interested party, and we may reconsider his judgement. Nothing that happened when the Romans actually met a phalanx is any guide, for while the latter was much deteriorated, the former were as much improved: and we must remember that it was the Roman of the Samnite, not the Punic or Macedonian, wars, that Alexander would have met in his tour of Europe: we need not say more than that he was at least twice as good a man, with ten times as good an army, as Pyrrhus! Postdate him a century, and oppose to him the infantry of the Second Punic War: delay alone saved Rome from Hannibal and his army of mercenaries, unsupported by his home government, with connections interrupted and scanty supplies. Against this set Alexander and his army: between the two generals there is little to choose, between the armies and circumstances everything: the Macedonian army is in perfect order, close to its base at home, admirably supplied and supported by Antipater: it has crushed

more than its own number of Greeks, the best mercenaries in the world, and is no more afraid of Iberians than of Baktrians. Alexander never hung fire for a moment: he would never have marched round Rome or tolerated Capua after his experience of Babylon, and he would have been before the walls of Rome in a month after crossing the Alps and over them in a week. Verily it is well for the "fors Romana" that he was never destined to put it to the proof.

D. G. HOGARTH.

ON SOME DISPUTED POINTS CONNECTED WITH THE "IMPERIUM" OF AUGUSTUS AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

I. *The Renewal of the "Imperium."*

According to Dio (53. 12) in 28 27 B.C. the senate and people offered to confirm to Augustus for an indefinite period the wide command over provinces and legions which he had held by general consent since 31 B.C. (M. Ancyr. L. vi. 13 "per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium"). But at Augustus' own request this "imperium" was doubly limited. It was restricted in area to certain provinces (the "provinces of Cæsar") selected no doubt in the first instance by Augustus himself[1], and its duration was fixed at ten years (Dio 53. 13). On the expiration of this period (Jan. 1, 727 27—Dec. 31, 736 18) it was according to Dio (53. 16) renewed for successive periods of 5, 5, 10, and 10 years[2]. His successors received it for life, but the form of renewal was maintained by the celebration of the "decennalia." Mommsen (Staatsrecht ii. 751) treats the limitation of time as one which had no legal force, but merely expressed Augustus' voluntary intentions and placed no real term to his tenure of the imperium. That in fact the

[1] Dio l. c. *τὰ μὲν ἀσθενέστερα...ἀπέδωκε...τὰ δ' ἰσχυρότερα...κατέσχε.* Suet. Aug. 47 validiores ipse suscepit, ceteras proconsulibus permisit. But the fact implied here that the division was proposed by Augustus does not exclude a vote of senate and people confirming the arrangement. Nor is it safe to lay stress as Mommsen does (Staatsrecht ii. 707, note 2) on Tacitus' phrase "dedit jura" (Ann. iii. 28) as excluding such a confirmatory vote. The phrase is materially but not formally correct, and is a natural one in the mouth of a writer living under Trajan. Augustus was no doubt as anxious as Tiberius "ut vocatus electusque a republica videretur" (Ann. i. 7).

[2] These renewals would naturally involve only a "prorogatio imperii" (Stobbe, Philol. 32. 14, 15).

decision rested with Augustus may be admitted at once—but the periodic renewal seems nevertheless to have had more reality about it than Mommsen allows[1].

It is noticeable, firstly, that when the time for the renewal comes round, not only Augustus but his colleague for the time being, Agrippa or Tiberius, is personally present in Rome, and on some occasions it looks as if they had returned on this account. Thus Augustus' return from the East (Oct. 735/19) and from the West (741/13) immediately preceded the first and second renewals of his imperium.

It is of far more importance to observe that the commencement of each new period of Augustus' imperium is accompanied by certain acts which seem to indicate the beginning of a fresh lease of power.

To begin with, the terms for which the "imperium" was granted to Augustus' colleagues, Agrippa and Tiberius, coincide with those of the renewal of his own authority. It is possible, to follow Mommsen's highly probable suggestion, that Agrippa first received the proconsular imperium in 23[2], the year, it should be noticed, in which Augustus' own position was resettled on a somewhat different basis. For it was in the autumn of this year that Agrippa was sent out to take charge of the Eastern provinces, as "διάδοχος Καίσαρι," and his ten years' rule of them dates from this period[3].

The first renewal of Augustus' "imperium" for five years took place in 736/18 (Dio 54. 12), and in the same year Agrippa was granted "equal powers with Augustus and the tribunician power for the same period." By "equal powers" (ἄλλα τε ἐξ ἴσου ἑαυτῷ) is clearly meant "imperium proconsulare," and we consequently read that Agrippa was shortly afterwards des-

[1] Such is, I gather, the opinion of O. Hirschfeld, Untersuchungen, p. 7, but he gives no reasons for his belief. The title "imperator perpetuus" (Orelli, 618) merely describes truly enough the fact of Augustus' continuous tenure.

[2] Staatsrecht ii. 1059, note 3.

[3] Josephus, Antiq. xv. 9, 10, xvi. 3. It is indeed possible that Agrippa's colleagueship may date back as far as the inaugural year of the principate 727/27 B.C. At any rate the significant dropping of the "nomen gentilicium" (Mommsen, StR. ii. 1043) dates apparently from that year. Willmanns, Ex. Inscr. Lat. 731. Cohen, Médailles i. p. 175.

patched to resume the command in the East (Dio 54. 19) which had been only interrupted by a brief visit to Gaul and Spain and by his return to Rome, presumably for the ceremony of renewal.

The second renewal of Augustus' imperium, again for five years, took place in 741/13, and that a similar renewal was granted to Agrippa may be inferred from the fact that he was now sent to command in Pannonia with a "maius imperium" (Dio 54. 28 *μεῖζον τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχόντων*).

In 746/8 Augustus' imperium was renewed a third time, and for 10 years (Dio 55. 6). At the same time Tiberius received *τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχήν*, i.e. probably the "imperium proconsulare[1]," and took command on the Rhine.

The fourth renewal occurred in 756/3 A.D. (Dio ap. Xiphil. 81), and either in this or the following year[2] Tiberius' "imperium" was also renewed, and he was sent to "pacify Germany" (Suet. Tib. 16).

In 766/13 A.D. Augustus' imperium was renewed for the last time (Dio 56. 28), and in the same year Tiberius was expressly associated with Augustus as "collega imperii[3]."

A similar connection with these periods of Augustus' imperium is observable in the grants made to Agrippa and Tiberius of the "tribunicia potestas." This was given to Agrippa in 736/18 (Dio 54. 12) and in 741/13 (ib. 54. 27, 28), i.e. at the commencement of the second and third periods. At the commencement of the fifth period, 756/3 A.D. (Dio 55. 13), and of the sixth, 766/13 A.D. (Dio 56. 28), it was given to Tiberius. The one exception to the rule is the original investiture of Tiberius with this authority in 748/6 in connection apparently with his mission to Armenia (Dio 55. 9). It is consequently clear that the successive terms for which Augustus' own imperium was renewed determined those of the powers granted to his colleagues.

In the Monument (M. Anc. Lat. ii. 2) Augustus tells us that

[1] Mommsen, Staats-R. ii. 1051.

[2] Tiberius' adoption by Augustus took place on June 27, 757/4 A.D. Vell. Pat. ii. 103. Cf. Tac. Ann. i. 3.

[3] Vell. ii. 21 ut æquum ei ius in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset. Cf. Suet. Tib. 21.

he three times held a census, and here again the coincidence with the periods of his imperium is noticeable. The first census was in 726/28, the year in which he laid down his anomalous powers. The second was in 746/8, at the commencement of the fourth period, the third was completed in May 767/14 A.D., but must have been begun in 766/13 A.D. at the commencement of the sixth period[1]. The same rule of coincidence holds good of the "lectiones senatus." Of these the Monument (Lat. ii. 1) gives three but assigns no dates. Suetonius (Aug. 35) mentions two. The first of these held "ipsorum arbitratu" is evidently the one placed by Dio (52. 42) in 725–6/29–28, when, as he says, the senators were made their own judges "ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος." The second, in which, according to Suetonius, Augustus was assisted by Agrippa, is that held at the commencement of the second period of the imperium in 736/18, when Agrippa was as we have seen "collega imperii" and "consors tribuniciæ potestatis." Dio (54. 12-14) who mentions a "lectio" in this year mentions also the fact noticed by Suetonius that Augustus wore a cuirass beneath his tunic. Two more "lectiones" are given by Dio, one in 741/13 (54. 26), at the commencement of the third, and another in 757/4 A.D. (55. 13) at the commencement of the fifth period. To bring the four lectiones of Dio into agreement with the three of the Monument, Mommsen rejects as spurious the "lectio" of 741/13[2], but in any case the dates of the "lectiones" like those of the "lustra" coincide with the periodic renewals of the imperium.

Lastly, on two occasions the close of a period was marked by an attempt to induce Augustus to accept some new form of authority. According to the Monument (M. Anc. Gr. iii. 11) in 735–6/19–18, he was invited by senate and people to accept the "cura legum et morum[3]," but refused. According to Dio (54. 10 sqq.) he was actually elected "curator morum" for 5 years in 735/19. Dio is unquestionably wrong as to the acceptance, but the agreement as to the date of the offer is

[1] The lustrum was closed in 767/14 (M. Anc. l. c.) 100 days before Augustus' death on Aug. 19 (Suet. Aug. 97. Dio 56. 29).

[2] Mommsen, ad Mon. Ancyr. p. 35.

[3] ἵν[α ἐπιμε]λητὴς τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἐ[πὶ τῇ με]γίστῃ [ἐξ]ουσ[ίᾳ μ]ό[νο]ς χειροτονηθῶ. M. Anc. l. c.

significant. The renewal of the imperium for a third period (741–746) was closely followed by a repetition of the offer. According to Dio (54. 30) Augustus was again elected "curator morum" for 5 years in 742/12. According to the Monument, he was offered the post in 743/11 but refused it.

The following schedule will show the extent of these significant coincidences.

(1) 726–7/28–27.	The inauguration of the principate.
	Augustus' imperium confirmed for ten years.
	Census and lectio senatus.
(2) 735–6/19–18.	Renewal of imperium for five years.
	Agrippa receives imperium proconsulare for 5 years.
	Agrippa receives tribunicia potestas for 5 years.
	Lectio senatus.
	Cura legum et morum offered and refused.
(3) 741–2/13–12.	Renewal of imperium for five years.
	Renewal to Agrippa of imperium proconsulare.
	Renewal to Agrippa of tribunicia potestas.
	Lectio senatus (? Dio).
	Cura legum et morum offered and refused (in 743/11 Mon. Anc.).
(4) 746/8.	Renewal of imperium for ten years.
	Tiberius receives imperium proconsulare.
	Census.
(5) 756/3 A.D.	Renewal of imperium for ten years.
	Renewal to Tiberius of imperium proconsulare.
	Renewal to Tiberius of tribunicia potestas.
	Lectio senatus.
(6) 766/13 A.D.	Renewal of imperium for ten years.
	Renewal to Tiberius of imperium proconsulare.
	Renewal to Tiberius of tribunicia potestas.
	Census.

II. "*Imperium consulare*" and "*proconsulare.*"

Dio's statement (54. 10) that in 735/19 Augustus received the consular power for life was until recently generally accepted, and by the great majority of writers[1] this "consularis potestas" has been regarded as the domestic counterpart to his "imperium proconsulare" rendering him "supreme over the citizens of Rome[2]," just as the other made him master of the provinces and legions abroad. But I fully agree with Mommsen[3] that Dio has misunderstood his authorities, and that what Augustus then received was, not a "consular power," distinct from his so-called "imperium proconsulare," but the consular insignia, the fasces, and the consular seat. Dio's own language indeed points to this conclusion, "*τὴν δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων [ἐξουσίαν] διὰ βίου ἔλαβεν, ὥστε καὶ ταῖς δώδεκα ῥάβδοις ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπατευόντων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου καθίζεσθαι.*" A similar grant had been made to him in 711/43[4], and now that he had definitely abandoned the consulship itself, these insignia would be of value, as placing him on an equality in outward rank with the consuls, just as in 731/23 and 732/22 he had regained by a special vote the prior rights of convening and of reference to the senate, which were attached to the consulship[5]. On the other hand no ancient authority except Dio mentions a grant of "consular power for life," though had there been one Augustus could scarcely have omitted to notice it when he states that he refused the "*ὑπατείαν καὶ ἐνιαύσιον κα[ι δ]ι[α] βίου*" offered to him in 732/22[6], or Suetonius (Aug. 26) when speaking of Augustus' consulships.

But the truth is that at the bottom of the theory of this distinct "consularis potestas" lies the notion that the consular authority had, by the end of the Republic, become in law as

[1] e.g. Merivale iii. 455. Madvig, Verfassung d. Röm. Staates i. 538. Stobbe, Philologus 32. 12.

[2] Merivale l.c. Cf. Furneaux, Annals, Introd. p. 67.

[3] Staatsrecht ii. 813, note i.

[4] Livy ep. 118 proprætoris imperium cum consularibus ornamentis. He also received "consularem locum sententiæ ferendæ" in the senate. Mon. Anc. Lat. i. 5.

[5] Dio 53. 32, 54. 3. See also below under sec. 3.

[6] Mon. Anc. Gr. iii. 9.

well as in fact, an urban, domestic and civil authority[1]. The notion however is a mistaken one. "Consularis potestas" is, as Mommsen has shown[2], precisely the same thing as "consulare imperium." The consul possesses the full "imperium" with precedence over all other holders of it. In any collision of authority his imperium ranks as "maius" against prætors and against proconsuls and propraetors[3]. But though his imperium was unchanged in its inherent prerogatives, the consul of the latter days of the Republic was somewhat narrowly restricted in its exercise. The established custom—for there is no trace of a statute[4]—which assigned to the consul the home government in Rome and Italy as his provincia, necessarily rendered dormant the military side of his authority. But the latter was only dormant, and a change in his "provincia" might at any moment awaken it to activity[5]. More than this, it would seem from a passage in Cicero (ad Att. 8. 15) that in his time the consul was still in theory the chief magistrate of the state, with an imperium ranking above that of all others. Cicero there speaking of the flight of dignitaries from Rome across the sea in 49 declares that, with the exception of Appius, all had the "jus transeundi," "nam aut cum imperio sunt ut Pompeius"... or "ipsi consules quibus more majorum concessum est *vel* omnes *adire provincias*[6]." Nor was it only as a domestic magistracy that Augustus held the consulship during the first five years of his principate. He was consul, but with a "province" which embraced more than half the empire. By holding this imperium with its wide area as consul, he ranked at once as chief magistrate of the state, without no less than

[1] e.g. Furneaux, Annals, p. 67.

[2] Staats-R. i. 48 "man sagt 'consularis potestas' eben wie 'consulare imperium' und in ganz gleicher Bedeutung."

[3] Mommsen, Staatsrecht i. 56 and the notes.

[4] I cannot, as I have elsewhere explained (Encyc. Brit. Art. Rom. Hist.), believe in the existence of a lex Cornelia confining the consuls and prætors to Rome and Italy. But such a law, even if it ever existed, affected, not the nature of the imperium, but that of the provincia assigned to its holder.

[5] e.g. in the case of L. Lucullus cons. 74 B.C. and M'. Acilius Glabrio cons. 67 B.C. both of whom as consuls took the field against Mithridates in Asia. Livy ep. 93. Dio 35. 2.

[6] Comp. Cic. Phil. iv. 9 omnes enim in consulis jure et imperio debent esse provinciæ.

within Rome. For the protection of the plebs, as Tacitus tells us in a passage which Mr Furneaux has, I think, misunderstood[1], he contented himself with the tribunicia potestas; for all other purposes the consulship sufficed. The difference between himself and the ordinary consul lay, not in the nature of his imperium[2], but in the conditions attached to its exercise.

But Mommsen, while recognising that "consularis potestas" is only "consulare imperium" under another name, and that "consulare imperium" was as much military as civil, insists nevertheless that Augustus did on two occasions at any rate hold a "consular imperium" distinct from his "imperium proconsulare[3]." He relies on the passage in the Monument, in which Augustus tells us that in 746/8 and in 767/13 A.D. he held a census "consulari imperio[4]." This "consulare imperium" Mommsen considers to have been assumed by Augustus for these two occasions only. But there is no hint of such an assumption in any of our authorities, and I would suggest that the "consulare imperium," in virtue of which Augustus held the census, after he had ceased to be consul, was in fact no other than that by which he ruled the provinces and the legions, the so-called "imperium proconsulare." The latter indeed is nothing but "consulare imperium" wielded by a man who is not consul, but is acting pro-consule; nor does the term "proconsulare imperium" appear to have been in use at all under the Republic[5]. Even in Trajan's time the authority of Pliny in Bithynia could still be described as "consularis[6]." But though the imperium was

[1] Tac. Ann. i. 2 posito IIIviri nomine consulem se ferens et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio iure contentum. Furneaux l. c. p. 65.

[2] M. Anc. L. 6. 22 potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam qui fuerunt mihi quoque in magistratu conlegæ.

[3] Staats-R. ii. 311, 1012.

[4] M. Anc. L. 2. 5 consulari cum imperio lustrum solus feci. ib. 8 tertium consulari cum imperio lustrum conlega Tib. Cæsare filio feci.

[5] If Lewis and Short may be trusted, the term is not used either in Cicero or Cæsar. It is used by Valerius Maximus. Cf. Mommsen, Staats-R. ii. 603, note 1 "in guter Zeit wird dem der proconsule ist, consulare imperium beigelegt, erst die späteren brauchen dafür 'imperium proconsulare.'"

[6] As on the inscription, Orelli 1172, legatus proprætore consulari potestate.

the same for consul or pro-consul, the conditions of its exercise varied in the two cases. According to Republican usage consular imperium could only be wielded in Rome by an actual consul; if its holder held it only "pro-consule," he could not bring his authority within the pomerium. On the other hand, it was precisely within these narrow urban bounds that custom ordinarily confined the exercise of the "consular imperium" by the consul himself.

The imperium then of Augustus which was defined in area and limited in duration in 28 B.C. was like that given to Pompey by the lex Gabinia in 67 B.C. "consulare," but with an even wider sphere of exercise. This consular imperium he wielded from 27–23 as consul, just as Pompey had wielded his in 52, and so far there was indeed a combination of the spheres usually assigned to the consul, with those usually entrusted to proconsuls, but there was only one imperium. So long as Augustus continued to hold this imperium as consul, it is as consul that he acts ("consulem se ferens" Tac. l.c.), and he therefore naturally states that it was as consul that he held the census of 726/28. On his abdication of his consulship in 731/23 he retained the "consular imperium," though only "pro-consule." By a special vote he was exempted from the disabilities attached to such a proconsular tenure, and in particular was allowed to retain his consular imperium within the city in the presence of the actual consuls, though no longer consul[1]. Armed with this privilege, he held the census in 746 8 and 767/14 A.D. in virtue, as he says, of his "consular imperium." It would seem further that on the second of these occasions a similar exemption was granted to Tiberius. He was in possession of consular imperium, but, like Augustus, only pro-consule. But on the renewed grant of it in 766, he was not only specially empowered to act as Augustus' colleague in the provinces, but authorised to assist him in holding the census[2]. In the case of both, their proconsular tenure of the

[1] Dio 53. 32 *τήν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἐσαεὶ καθάπαξ ἔχειν, ὥστε μήτε ἐν τῷ ἐσόδῳ τῷ ἔσω τοῦ πωμηρίου κατατίθεσθαι αὐτήν, μήτ' αὖθις ἀνανεοῦσθαι.*

[2] Suet. Tib. 21 ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret, so Mon. Anc. l. c. Augustus held this census "conlega Tiberio Cæsare."

consular imperium was allowed, contrary to usage, to hold good in Rome.

Mommsen has rightly repudiated[1] the notion of a general "imperatorische Gewalt" distinct from the "imperium proconsulare." But it is, I venture to think, equally impossible to draw any distinction between imperium proconsulare and imperium consulare, other than that dependent on the official status of the holder as consul or not. The imperium is in both cases the same—and its proper designation is that given it invariably by Republican writers, and by Augustus himself in the Monument, "imperium consulare." The substitution for this older designation of the later "imperium proconsulare" was possibly facilitated by the events of 23, in consequence of which even in Rome the consular imperium was ostentatiously divorced from the tenure of the consulship and the supreme executive authority of the empire wielded "pro-consule." It is at least noticeable in this connection that it is in describing the events of 23 that Dio first uses the term of the imperium of Augustus himself.

III. *The settlement of* 731/23.

So far I have endeavoured to show that Augustus from 726/28 onwards possessed but one "imperium," and that the highest known to the Roman constitution, the "imperium consulare." This he held under conditions which gave him all that he needed. His "provincia" embraced all the troops and half the provinces. His tenure fixed in the first instance at ten years was renewable. Finally he wielded this imperium as consul, and thus not only took precedence of all proconsuls and proprætors abroad, but was chief magistrate in Rome. This view is confirmed by the nature of that resettlement of his position which his renunciation of the consulship in 731/23 rendered necessary, a resettlement fraught with important consequences for the imperial system. It was effected by a series of measures all of which must be considered together if their proper significance is to be understood.

[1] Staats-R. ii. 792, note 1. This quite untenable distinction is reasserted by Carlowa, Rechts-Gesch. 493.

On June 27, 731 23, Augustus laid down the consulship which he had held uninterruptedly since 723/31[1]. The step was unpopular in Rome, but Augustus was firm. Between 731/23 and 736 18 he refused to accept various extraordinary offices which were pressed upon him, a dictatorship, a life consulship, and a "cura legum et morum[2]." But while refusing any exceptional office[3] he accepted certain privileges and prerogatives. In 731/23, according to Dio[4], he was (1) declared "tribune for life," (2) granted the right *χρηματίζειν περὶ ἑνός τινος, καθ' ἑκάστην βουλήν, κἂν μὴ ὑπατεύῃ,* (3) allowed *τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἐσαεὶ καθάπαξ ἔχειν, ὥστε μήτε ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ τῇ ἔσω τοῦ πωμηρίου κατατίθεσθαι αὐτήν, μήτ' αὖθις ἀνανεοῦσθαι,* (4) granted *ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ τὸ πλεῖον τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ἀρχόντων ἰσχύειν.* In the next year 732 22[5], he was empowered (5) *τὴν βουλὴν ἀθροίζειν ὁσάκις ἂν ἐθελήσῃ.* Finally (6) in 735/19[6] he was given permission *ταῖς δώδεκα ῥάβδοις ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπατευόντων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου καθίζεσθαι.*

Of these six powers, it will be convenient to consider first the third and fourth, as those most directly connected with his renunciation of the consulate. When Augustus ceased to hold his consular imperium as consul, his tenure of it was only "proconsule." It was not therefore valid in Rome[7]. To meet the difficulty he was now exempted from this disability, and for the first time the consular imperium was wielded in Rome, as it had been for long wielded in the provinces, by one who was neither consul nor prætor. It is possible that Augustus may have been at the same time exempted from the ancient restrictions which limited the exercise of the imperium within the city[8], in other words that he was allowed to exercise it there as absolutely as it had always been exercised by proconsular holders in the provinces. But to this point I shall

[1] For the date see Corp. Inscr. Lat. vi. 2014.

[2] Mon. Ancyr. L. i. 31. Gr. iii. 11.

[3] *παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη.* M. Anc. l. c.

[4] Dio 53. 32.

[5] Dio 54. 3.

[6] Dio 54. 10.

[7] Cf. the "quoad urbem introisset" of the Lex Cornelia. Cic. ad fam. i. 9.

[8] Dio 53. 17 connects the summary criminal jurisdiction of the emperors, the "jus gladii," with what he calls their proconsular power.

return further on, merely remarking now that if this was so, the designation of his imperium as "proconsulare" becomes still more natural. By the fourth measure Augustus was granted "maius imperium" over all provincial governors. This did not imply, as is often said, an extension of his authority, but only gave him back what he had lost when he ceased to be consul. As merely holding the consular imperium, "proconsule," he still indeed took precedence of those who only held the imperium "pro-prætore," i.e. his own legati, but he no longer enjoyed the precedence which had belonged to him as consul over proconsuls. With the latter he was now on a level[1]; and his imperium, though exercised over a larger area and for a longer time, was not superior but equal to that of the proconsular governors of senatorial provinces. It was to reestablish a precedence so essential for the unity of administration that this measure was passed, and not in order to bring the senatorial governors for the first time under his paramount authority. A similar provision had been found necessary in the case of his colleague Agrippa when invested with consular imperium pro-consule[2], and is mentioned also in the later case of Germanicus[3].

But in losing the consulship Augustus lost more than the right to wield the consular imperium in Rome, and the "maius imperium" over proconsuls. In the first place he no longer held the magistracy which had been always regarded as carrying with it the constitutional headship of the state; nor though he might retain consular imperium within the city, could he venture to claim the first place in Rome and in the civil government on the strength of an authority which, when held by others than the consuls, had only been exercised abroad, and which was associated with the absolute methods of rule prevalent in the camp and the provinces. Rome could not

[1] Compare the position of Pompey when given consular imperium, "proconsule," in 687/67, "imperium æquum in omnibus provinciis cum proconsulibus." Vell. ii. 31.

[2] Dio 54. 28 μεῖζον τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχόντων ἰσχῦσαι, an almost verbal repetition of the vote in favour of Augustus.

[3] Tac. Ann. ii. 43 Maius imperium quam iis qui *sorte* (sc. proconsules) aut missu principis obtinerent.

as yet be governed, openly at least, by proconsular authority. Hence undoubtedly the increased stress now laid on the "tribunicia potestas." To state as Dio does[1], that Augustus was (measure 1) declared "δήμαρχον διὰ βίου," is palpably incorrect. He was never "tribune," and the "tribunicia potestas" had been granted him for life in 718 36[2]. What modification in his tenure of it was now made is not clear[3], but this much is certain, that the "tribunicia potestas" was brought into new prominence and a special emphasis laid upon it. It now first appears among the titles of Augustus and appears sometimes alone[4], as "summi fastigii vocabulum[5]," and a number is appended indicating for how many years it has been held. Henceforward it ranked highest among the imperial prerogatives—higher even, as Mommsen has shown, than the "imperium" itself[6]. Lastly by Augustus it is explicitly put forward as sufficient for those administrative purposes, for the execution of which he had been offered but had refused offices which were "contrary to the usage of our forefathers[7]."

The tribunician power which Augustus now adopted as the outward and constitutional sign of his authority in Rome, unquestionably carried with it the right both of convening the senate ("senatum habere") and of introducing business (referre, relationem facere). But according to Dio, Augustus was empowered in 731/23 χρηματίζειν περὶ ἑνός τινος καθ' ἑκάστην βουλήν (meas. 2) and in 732 22 τὴν βουλὴν ἀθροίζειν ὁσάκις ἂν ἐθελήσῃ[8] (measure 5). Where then lay the necessity for these measures? The former power may be safely identified with the "relationem facere" of the Lex Vespasiani[9], and with the phrase

[1] Dio 53. 32.

[2] Dio 49. 15. Oros. vi. 18.

[3] Mommsen, Staatsrecht ii. 752. Stobbe, Philologus 32, pp. 13 sqq.

[4] Cohen, Médailles i. nos. 342 sqq. Mommsen, Münzwesen 744. Schiller, Gesch. d. Kaiserzeit i. 160.

[5] Tac. Ann. iii. 56.

[6] Mommsen, Staatsrecht ii. 1050. Cf. Dio 54. 12 ἄλλα τε καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικήν. 53. 32 τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ δημαρχικῇ.

[7] Mon. Anc. Gr. 3. 19 ἃ δὲ τότε δι' ἐμοῦ ἡ σύνκλητος οἰκονομεῖσθαι ἐβούλετο, τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὧν ἐτέλεσα.

[8] Dio 53. 32, 34. 3.

[9] "utique ei senatum habere, *relationem facere*, remittere, senatus consulta per relationem discessionemque facere, ita uti licuit divo Augusto," Willmanns, 917.

περὶ ἑνός τινος must be compared the "jus tertiæ, quartæ, quintæ relationis" conferred upon later emperors[1]. Mommsen[2] holds that the right "relationem facere" now given was distinct from the ordinary "jus referendi": and that it specially empowered Augustus to submit to the senate a proposal in writing, through the medium of a third party, and even when absent himself. But though this right must have differed in some way from that already possessed by Augustus in virtue of his tribunicia potestas, and though it is highly improbable that "περὶ ἑνός τινος" can mean that he was henceforth restricted to a single relatio, there are grave objections to Mommsen's view. There is in the first place no evidence that "relationem facere" bore the special meaning which Mommsen gives it, or that it is not simply equivalent to "referre." That Augustus and his successors did bring written "relationes" before the senate is certain, but it is not clear that "referre" could not be used to describe this practice[3], or that the practice itself required any special enactment to make it legal. Under the earlier emperors it was the exception and not the rule. Only on three occasions, so far as we know, did Augustus deviate from the ordinary mode of oral reference. (1) in 741/13, when owing to hoarseness he handed his speech to his quæstor instead of delivering it himself[4]. (2) probably in 752/2 when to the same official he entrusted the painful announcement of his daughter's disgrace[5]. (3) in 765/12 A.D. when owing to failing strength he made use of Germanicus, who was then, it should be noticed, consul[6]. Tiberius' prolonged absence from Rome necessitated a more frequent use of written communications; but these seem to have been as a rule addressed to the consuls and by them brought before the senate in the ordinary way[7]. Claudius, according to Dio, was compelled by physical

[1] Vit. Pertin. 5. Severi Alexandri 1. Probi. 12.

[2] Staatsrecht ii. 837, note 3 "die schriftliche Antragstellung des abwesenden Kaisers."

[3] Cf. the passage Vita Marci 10 quoted by Mommsen (l. c. 838, note 1) who consequently assumes that "referre" is here wrongly used for "relationem facere."

[4] Dio 54. 25.

[5] Suet. Aug. 65.

[6] Dio 56. 25.

[7] Dio 58. 10. Cf. Madvig, Verfassung d. R. Staates i. 562.

weakness to use the services of his quæstor[1]. Nero preferred the more regular mode of communication through the consuls[2]. Vespasian employed Titus as his mouthpiece, but Titus was already his colleague with the imperium and the tribunician power[3]. Not until the close of the first century did the use of the quæstor become habitual. Moreover when the written communication was entrusted to a magistrate possessing the "jus referendi" he would introduce it on his own authority[4]. If the selected medium of communication was the "quæstor principis," this subordinate official was no doubt by an easy and natural fiction treated as merely for the moment the representative of the emperor. Lastly the language of the Lex Vespasiani points to the identification of "relationem facere" with "referre." It mentions "relationem facere" after the permission "senatum habere," and before the permission "senatusconsulta facere": exactly where we should expect to find "referre." Of "referre" as distinct from "relationem facere" there is no mention, and if it was omitted, as already included in the tribunicia potestas, why did not the omission extend to the rights "senatum habere" and "senatusconsulta facere" which were equally part of the tribune's prerogative?

Assuming then that both the "χρηματίζειν" of Dio, and the "relationem facere" of the Lex Vespasiani, are equivalent to "referre," what was the reason for the grant made to Augustus in 731/23 and continued to his successors? For this we must look once more to the position in which he had placed himself by his renunciation of the consulship. By that act he lost the prior right of reference attached to the office of consul[5]. His tribunician power secured him still the "jus referendi," but only after and not before the higher magistrates. It was then the privilege of making the first relatio which he had lost, and which this grant restored to him. He was given the consul's prior right of reference, even though, as Dio significantly

[1] Dio 60. 2.

[2] Suet. Nero 15.

[3] Suet. Tit. 6.

[4] As in the case of communications addressed to the senate through the consuls by provincial governors or generals. Willems, Le Sénat ii. 175 and note 2.

[5] Gell. xiv. 7. Willems, Le Sénat ii. 125, note 1. Herzog, I see, takes the view expressed in the text in his new Gesch. u. Syst. ii. 145.

adds, he might not be consul. But this prior right of reference was not to extend to all the relationes he might wish to make. It was limited to one, "περὶ ἑνός τινος." This right of making the first relatio (jus primæ relationis) at each meeting of the senate was afterwards extended[1], so that some of the later emperors were authorised to make as many as five "relationes" before the regular magistrates took their turn. How many more they might subsequently make in virtue of the "tribunicia potestas" was left undetermined. This view does not require us to create a distinction between "relationem facere" and "referre." It avoids the difficulty[2] of supposing that a new and absolute limitation was imposed on the emperor's exercise of the "jus referendi," by treating the limitation as applicable only to the prior right of reference. It explains the terms "jus tertiæ, quartæ, relationis" as meaning the right to make in succession the third, fourth, etc. "relatio," not the right to make altogether three or four "relationes" (i.e. jus trium, quattuor, relationum). Lastly it brings this measure into line with those dealing with the consular imperium, as one intended to compensate for the loss of the consulship.

A similar intention is clearly discernible in the two measures which remain to be noticed: that passed in 732/22 empowering Augustus τὴν βουλὴν ἀθροίζειν ὁσάκις ἂν ἐθελήσῃ[3], the "utique eum senatum habere liceat" of the Lex Vespasiani, and that passed in 735/19 granting him the consular insignia[4]. The "jus senatum habendi" he possessed like the "jus referendi" in virtue of the "tribunicia potestas," but in 732/22 his right to convene the senate was presumably made independent of the old established order of precedence which gave the right, in the first instance, to the consuls and prætors, and only after them to the tribunes[5]. From the Lex Vespasiani we learn further that Augustus was given, probably at the same time, and with the same right of precedence, authority "senatusconsulta facere." He was thus compensated for the loss of the consulate, by being invested with all the

[1] Not as Madvig states "contracted." Verfassung, i. 538.

[2] Mommsen, Staats-R. ii. 837, note 1.

[3] Dio 54. 3.

[4] Dio 54. 10.

[5] Varro ap. Gell. xiv. 7.

special privileges which a consul enjoyed in dealing with the senate.

Lastly in 735 19 he was granted, according to Mommsen's undoubtedly correct version, equal rank in Rome with the actual consuls, by the bestowal of the 12 fasces, and by the permission given him to sit between the consuls on their official seat.

To sum up the results of this resettlement of Augustus' position. Henceforth he held his "consular imperium" only pro-consule, and it came consequently to be usually spoken of as "imperium proconsulare." But he was nevertheless allowed to hold it in Rome, and abroad he was given the precedence of a consul over the proconsular governors of senatorial provinces. But to govern Rome "pro-consule" was not yet possible. On the one hand therefore increased stress was now laid upon the tribunicia potestas, and on the other he was granted by special vote the rights attached to the consulship in relation to the senate, and equality in outward rank with the consuls themselves.

For the future the importance of this change lay in the separation thus effected between the principate, and the chief magistracy of the state. Henceforward the position of "princeps" is marked not by the tenure of any great office, but by the bestowal upon a selected citizen of certain powers[1]. The result was on the one hand to lower the position of the actual magistracies, and on the other to facilitate the extension of imperial authority by the simple process of lengthening the list of powers conferred upon its holder for the time being. But this was not all. The separation from the chief constitutional magistracy emphasised the exceptional character of the principate. The proconsular tenure by which the emperors henceforward held the "consular imperium" led easily to the open use in Rome of proconsular methods of government culmin-

[1] To speak as Herzog does in his recently published Gesch. u. System d. Rom. Staatsverfassung (ii. introd. pp. xiii. xiv.) of the "principate" as a "magistratur" is misleading. It was at least after 731 23 not a magistracy, but a position of preeminence resting on the investiture of this or that citizen with certain powers. And this is in effect the view also of Mommsen.

ating in the adoption of the title "proconsul" itself[1]. Finally as holding the "consular imperium" apart from the consulship, the emperor escaped from the limitations and restrictions which hampered the actual consul, while he was given by special vote not a few of the prerogatives hitherto inseparably attached to the consulate.

That these changes were made with the approval, if not at the suggestion of Augustus, is almost certain. Nor are the motives which provoked this new departure hard to discover. Augustus may, as Mommsen suggests[2], have found the essentially annual and collegiate character of the consulship an irksome restriction, or administrative difficulties may have resulted from the continued monopoly of one consulship by the same person, and the consequently reduced number of "consulares" available for the public service. But another and a stronger reason must have been the anxiety of Augustus to lessen the danger, which constantly menaced himself and his immediate successors, from the wounded pride and jealous ambition of the leading nobles, who keenly resented the loss of the official career which they had been taught to regard as their birthright[3]. So long as Augustus held the consulship, one at least of the great prizes of political life was placed beyond their reach. His resignation of it left the old career of "honores" open from the lowest to the highest step to private ambition[4]. There was further the obvious and serious danger of a disputed succession. Against this the most natural precaution, under the circumstances, was that which Augustus adopted, viz. to settle the question as far as possible in his own lifetime by associating his intended successor with himself in the distinctive powers of the principate. But to associate the same colleague with himself in the consulship year after year would have been

[1] Mommsen, Staats-R. ii. 736.

[2] Staats-R. ii. 812.

[3] This feeling is expressed in the letter of Servius to Cicero, written under Cæsar's dictatorship, consoling him for the death of his daughter, ad fam. iv. 5 "quid autem fuit quod illam hoc tempore ad vivendum magno opere invitare posset...an ut ea liberos ex sese pareret...qui...*honores ordinatim petituri essent in republica*?"

[4] Plin. paneg. 58 contigit ergo privatis aperire annum,...et hoc quoque redditæ libertatis indicium fuit, quod consul alius quam Cæsar esset.

to wound still more deeply the pride of the nobles, while a colleagueship in the "consular imperium" and in the "tribunicia potestas" involved no monopoly of an office to the exclusion of others.

IV. *The "lex de imperio."*

Dio concludes his account of the powers and privileges voted to Augustus, after his deposition of the consulate (731 23), by stating that thenceforward Augustus and his successors "*ἐν νόμῳ δή τινι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ δημαρχικῇ ἐχρήσαντο*[1]," and in an earlier passage he remarks that in his own day all the prerogatives customarily given to each emperor were as a rule given "en bloc" ("*πᾶσαι ἅμα αὐτοῖς ὡς τὸ πολύ, πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν, δίδονται*[2]"): a statement fully borne out by other evidence[3]. Gaius and Ulpian both speak of a lex, which invested the emperor with his authority, "cum ipse imperator per legem imperium accipiat," "utpote cum lege regia, quæ de imperio eius lata est, populus ei et in eum omne suum imperium conferat[4]." A fragment of such a law has been undoubtedly preserved in the so-called "Lex de imperio Vespasiani[5]," while lastly, the records of the Arval College mention "comitia tribuniciæ potestatis" in connection with Nero, Otho, Vitellius, and Domitian[6]. We may then safely follow the great majority of modern authorities in assuming the existence of a "lex," carried in favour of each successive emperor, and setting forth the prerogatives conferred upon him as upon his predecessors. But as to the extent of ground covered by this law, and as to its bearing on the constitutional position of the emperor, there is some difference

[1] Dio 53. 32.

[2] ib. 53. 18.

[3] e. g. Dio 59. 3. Tac. Hist. iv. 3 "cuncta principibus solita," cf. the list of passages given by Mommsen, Staats-R. ii. 744, note 1.

[4] Gaius i. 5. Digest 1. 4. 1. Cf. Mommsen, Staats-R. ii. 817, note 1, for other references.

[5] Orelli-Henzen i. p. 567. Willmanns 917, C.I.L. vi. 930.

[6] Acta Fratr. Arv. ed. Henzen, p. 65. In Nero's case, the celebration was "ob tribuniciam potestatem"; in the case of the others "ob comitia tribuniciæ potestatis."

of opinion. The theory of Merivale[1], that it was a senatorial decree conferring the imperium, which represented the ancient law of the curies, and preceded the decree or decrees conferring special prerogatives, has deservedly found little acceptance with recent writers, though it has the authority of Niebuhr in its favour. For our purpose the issue lies between those who with Mommsen[2] would exclude the "imperium" from the operation of the statute, and those who regard it as a general empowering law, though the latter, as a rule, fail to make clear its relation to such acts as the salutation by the soldiery, which in a sense qualified the man saluted to act as emperor[3].

It is in the first place easy to understand why, if Dio is right, the origin of the "lex" is dated from 731/23. Augustus' deposition of the consulate, and the separation thus initiated between the consular imperium held by the emperor and the well understood office of consul, naturally led to a more exact definition of his imperium; and further he now received by special vote certain prerogatives which were indispensable to him under the altered circumstances. In the case of each successor, the question was not one of electing him to an office with defined powers, but of placing him in the position of Augustus, by conferring upon him prerogatives such as Augustus had received.

No one has insisted with greater force than Mommsen himself upon the want of continuity which marked the principate. The principate died with the princeps[4]. Constitutionally there was no provision that on the death or deposition of one princeps, any successor at all should be appointed. Nor did the constit-

[1] Hist. of Romans iii. 468. The "lex curiata" was concerned only with the old patrician magistracies. Nor is it likely that this ancient form was galvanised into life in order to confer an extraordinary imperium, and still less to confer the tribunicia potestas.

[2] Staats-R. ii. 789. Herzog, Gesch. u. System ii. 242, dissents from Mommsen, but has not yet stated his own view.

[3] Madvig, Verfassung i. 546. Walter, Gesch. d. Röm. Rechts i. 333. Ranke, Weltgesch. iii. 241, who however ignores the "tralatician" character of the Lex Vespasiani.

[4] Staatsr. ii. 1038 "stirbt auch von Rechtswegen der Principat mit dem Princeps." He notices also the absence of any provision such that of the "interregnum" for bridging over the gap between one princeps and another.

ution prescribe, as we shall see, any method by which the new princeps should be selected, or state what powers should be conferred upon him. That there must be a successor was determined by the necessities of the case[1], circumstances decided the mode of his selection, and finally custom embodied in a single statute the prerogatives to be conferred upon him as upon his predecessors[2].

With this view Mommsen would agree except in so far as the bestowal of the "consular" or as it was styled the "proconsular imperium" was concerned. According to him the "lex" gave only the "potestas tribunicia" with the addition of certain special powers[3], such as those mentioned in the extant clauses of the Lex Vespasiani; while the "imperium" was not so much conferred as assumed consequently upon the salutation of the soldiery or of the senate[4]. But this theory rests, I believe, on a misconception of the meaning of this salutation or acclamation. The Roman constitution distinguished the act by which a man was designated, from the act by which his powers were specifically conferred upon him[5]. The king designated by the interrex, received his powers by a vote of the curies. Consuls and prætors, designated in fact by the votes of the centuries, in theory by the presiding magistrate, obtained similarly a lex curiata. Where a "privatus" was to be invested with special powers, the designation of the individual was usually the work of the magistrate, who proposed the law giving him the powers. But in the case of the emperor, no mode of designation was constitutionally prescribed, just as there was no constitutional provision for the existence of an emperor at all. In practice the man to be selected was as a rule marked out either by the position he already held as the colleague, or

[1] Vita Hadr. 6 "esse respublica sine imperatore non potest." Vit. Tac. 3 "imperator est deligendus quia cogit necessitas." Cf. Tac. Hist. i. 16; Mommsen, Staats-R. ii. 1039.

[2] Tac. Hist. iv. 3 "cuncta principibus solita," cf. Mommsen l. c.

[3] Mommsen l. c. ii. 819 "eine durch Specialclauseln normirte und erweiterte tribunische Gewalt."

[4] Staatr. ii. 789 "übertragen wird überall das Imperium streng genommen nicht; es wird übernommen entweder auf Aufforderung des Senats oder auf Aufforderung der Truppen."

[5] So Mommsen l. c. ii. 621, 669. Cf. lex de dictatore Livy 23. 14.

adopted son[1], or nearest relative of the last princeps, by conspicuous military ability and prestige, or by popularity with the soldiery or senate. The mode of designating the obvious person was scarcely less an open question in theory. No doubt the more orthodox procedure was that he should be invited by the senate to accept the position[2], but in many cases the prætorian cohorts or the legions anticipated the senate, and designated by acclamation the man of their choice. These acclamations were naturally decisive in fact. The man thus designated by soldiers or senate or both frequently acts thenceforward as emperor, and even commemorates the day of his designation as the "dies imperii[3]." But there is in all this no constitutional investiture of the designated person with the imperium. It is therefore impossible to follow Mommsen in his view that, "according to the regulations of the principate," the imperium was lawfully assumed on the request of soldiers or senate, since the whole position of the princeps turns on the fact that no formal regulations at all existed prescribing such a method. But though the designation of the princeps was thus left to circumstances, and though the "acclamation" merely meant designation and nothing more, there is no sufficient reason for doubting that there was a formal act by which the person designated and already in "de facto" possession of authority, was legally invested with the powers which were customarily connected with the position of princeps. Indeed the legitimisation and definition of a de facto authority had been the real object of a series of senatusconsulta and leges dating from the crossing of the Rubicon by Julius[4]. Are we then to suppose that from the "lex" which legitimised and defined the powers of the designated princeps, the "imperium" was excluded?

[1] But neither colleagueship nor adoption gave any legal claim to succession.

[2] Mommsen ii. 789. "Suscipere imperium," Vit. Tacit. 3.

[3] Suet. Vesp. 6. Vita Hadr. 4. 6. Mommsen ii. 790.

[4] When in 711/43 the senate granted "imperium proprætore" to Octavian, Cicero argues that they were only recognising an accomplished fact. Phil. xi. 8 "eripuissetis C. Cæsari imperium, nisi dedissetis—imperium belli necessitas, fasces senatus dedit." Such too was the real force of the vote of 726/28, defining Augustus' imperium, and also of those of 731/23.

Mommsen's assertion that "für die Uebertragung des militärischen Imperium ist nach der Ordnung des Principats die Bürgerversammlung nicht competent[1]" is merely an inference from his theory that the "acclamation" had been erected into a constitutional act of investiture. That according to the old constitution such a defining act properly belonged to the comitia is certain[2]. It is antecedently improbable that the princeps should have held his imperium by a title different to that by which he held his other powers—viz. a vote of the people. Nor is there anything in the language of our authorities which obliges us to suppose that the legitimising lex did not include the "imperium." The language of the Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ suggests the inference that, though in later times the designation of a man as princeps in the senate, and the proposal to confer upon him the usual powers, were often nearly or quite coincident in point of time, these usual powers included the imperium, the grant of which is usually coupled with the grant of the tribunicia potestas and of the "jus referendi[3]." With Mommsen's view, that the decrees defining and conferring these powers were followed by a vote of the people, I entirely agree, but I see no reason why he should limit this subsequent vote to the tribunicia potestas and other special powers but exclude the imperium. Dio, as well as Gaius and Ulpian, clearly believed that the "lex" gave all the imperial prerogatives—and though it is easy to understand that the two last-named would describe such a law as lex de imperio, even though it included powers not properly belonging to the imperium—it is difficult to believe that they would have so named the law, had it given every prerogative except the "imperium" itself. By the Scriptores too, as we have seen, the "jus proconsulare" and the tribunicia potestas are coupled together, without a hint as to any difference in the mode of

[1] l.c. ii. 789.

[2] Cf. the Lex Gabinia, Manilia, etc.

[3] The future emperor is called upon "suscipere imperium" (Vit. Tac. 3) and is saluted with the nomen imperatorium. Then follows as a rule the recitation of the powers τῇ αὐτοκράτορι ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα (Dio 63. 29) in which the proconsular imperium is coupled with the tribunicia potestas and the jus referendi, *e.g.* Vita Probi 12.

investiture. It is moreover generally agreed that in the fragmentary Lex Vespasiani, we have a specimen of the "lex tralaticia" carried in favour of each successive princeps. As it stands there is no reference either to the tribunicia potestas or to the imperium. I agree with Mommsen that it must have included the former, but I see no reason, on the face of it, why it should have omitted the latter; especially as the first extant clause[1] deals with a prerogative intimately connected with the imperium and quite remote from the tribunician power. The records of the Arval College mention, it is true, no other "comitia" but those held "ob tribuniciam potestatem," but the fact is not fatal to the theory that the vote passed at these comitia dealt also with the imperium. As a matter of precedence the tribunicia potestas ranked above the imperium[2], and its possession was the distinctive constitutional mark of the princeps. It is consequently conceivable that for brevity's sake the tribunicia potestas was taken to stand for the sum total of the prerogatives voted "en bloc" to each emperor, and that the comitia were therefore shortly styled "comitia ob tribuniciam potestatem." Similarly Dio uses the phrases "*τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν δημαρχικήν*," "*ἄλλα τε ἐξ ἴσου ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν δημαρχικήν*[3]," and in both cases he evidently includes the imperium among "*τὰ ἄλλα*." Augustus's reluctance to rest his position in Rome avowedly upon an "imperium" held only "proconsule" and the prominence he consequently gave to the "tribunicia potestas" may thus have influenced the language used with reference to his successors.

The imperium of the emperors was then the old "consular imperium." It was at first wielded by Augustus as consul, though with an unprecedentedly wide provincia, and for an unusually long term. After 731/23 it was wielded by himself and his successors "proconsule," and came to be currently known as "proconsular," but its holder was freed as Augustus had been from the disabilities attaching to the proconsular tenure of the imperium. The votes of 727/27 and 731/23 defined its area, determined certain conditions of its exercise, and coupled with

[1] "Fœdusve cum quibus volet facere liceat."

[2] Mommsen, Staats-R. ii. 814, 1057.

[3] Dio 53. 32, 54. 12.

it other prerogatives. But no provision was made for its transmission. Necessity compelled the choice of a successor, circumstances decided how he should be chosen, but once chosen, senate and people still according to ancient usage conferred upon him the "imperium" together with the powers once voted to Augustus and voted after him to each of his successors in turn.

V. *The Consular imperium in Rome.*

We have seen that in 731/23 Augustus was authorised to retain the "consular imperium," which he now held "proconsule" even within the pomœrium. The question thus arises, what use did he and his successors make of this "imperium" for the purposes of government at home? To discuss this question in detail here would be to extend this article to an unpardonable length—but something must be said by way of completing the account of the "imperium" given above. That both Augustus and his successors avoided parading the "consular imperium" as the basis of their authority in Rome and Italy is clear, but it is scarcely possible to maintain with Mommsen that "for Rome and Italy it does not come into consideration[1]." The point, it must be remembered, is not whether Augustus acted as proconsul, but whether or not he made any use of the "consular imperium" which, though not consul, he certainly possessed; and that probably without the restrictions which bound the consul. The evidence that he did so may be briefly summed up as follows. The establishment in Rome of the cohortes prætoriæ, the cohortes vigilum and urbanæ, and in Italy of the "milites stationarii" and of the squadrons at Misenum and Ravenna, is recognised by Mommsen himself as an instance of the exercise of the "imperium[2]." In Rome again we find the "quæstor principis" attached, as Mommsen also holds[3], to the emperor as holding the consular imperium, and the various "præfecti" whose authority is derived from the

[1] Staats-R. ii. 792, 800.
[2] ib. ii. 801, 805.
[3] ib. ii. 534.

emperor alone. The direct criminal jurisdiction of the emperor can hardly be traced to any other source[1], and much I believe of his appellate jurisdiction must be similarly explained. On another occasion I shall hope to show that the attempt to lay all these burdens on the tribunicia potestas is an impossible one. To refer them to a general "imperium[2]" or to a "consular power[3]" distinct from the "proconsular imperium" involves as has been shown a misconception of the nature of the imperium. Lastly to account for them as specially given like the "jus referendi," etc., by the "lex Vespasiani" is to multiply the clauses of that law beyond the bounds of probability.

HENRY PELHAM.

[1] Dio 53. 17. Mommsen, l.c. ii. 898.

[2] As Carlowa appears to do Rechts-Gesch. p. 493.

[3] Merivale, see supra.

Post. Anal. I. 22, 83ª 30: *ὅσα δὲ μὴ οὐσίαν σημαίνει, δεῖ κατά τινος ὑποκειμένου κατηγορεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ εἶναί τι λευκὸν ὃ οὐχ ἕτερόν τι ὂν λευκόν ἐστιν.*

Perhaps we should restore, *ὃ οὐχ ἑτέρου τινὸς ὂν λευκόν ἐστιν*, and understand *ἑτέρου τινὸς* as a reference to the *ὑποκείμενον* in which the whiteness exists as an attribute.

Post. Anal. II. 4, 91ᵇ 1: *οὐ γὰρ εἰ ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ Α τῷ Β καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Γ, ἔσται τῷ Γ τὸ Α τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀληθὲς ἦν εἰπεῖν ἔσται μόνον.*

The *ἦν* after *ἀληθὲς* is, I suspect, a blunder for *πᾶν*: two lines further on we have something very similar in form, *ἀληθὲς γὰρ πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ εἶναι ζῴῳ εἶναι* (comp. also 91ᵇ 25).

Post. Anal. II. 4, 91ᵇ 7: *ἐὰν μὲν οὖν μὴ οὕτω λάβῃ, οὐ συλλογιεῖται ὅτι τὸ Α ἐστὶ τῷ Γ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι καὶ ἡ οὐσία. ἐὰν δὲ οὕτω λάβῃ, πρότερον ἔσται εἰληφὼς τῷ Γ τί ἐστι τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι τὸ* B.

Read *ὅτι ἐστὶ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι τὸ* B.

De Anima I. 5, 411ª 7: *καὶ ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ δέ τινες αὐτὴν* [scil. *ψυχὴν*] *μεμῖχθαί φασιν.*

This is the beginning of a distinct paragraph, consisting of §§ 17—21 (if one may for once refer to the old division into §§), and extending as far as *μορίῳ τοῦ παντός* in 411ª 23. The paragraph has, as far as I can see, no connexion, direct or indirect, with what immediately precedes it (§ 16); nor yet can it be taken as an independent argument in the series of arguments which form the substance of the chapter. But there is a recognizable connexion of ideas between it and § 15 (410ᵇ 27—411ª 2). Having condemned a certain view as not universally true and applicable to all forms of soul (§ 14. 410ᵇ 26. *οὐδ' ἂν οὕτω λέγοιεν καθόλου περὶ πάσης ψυχῆς*). Aristotle runs off

into a digression in § 15, reminding us that the same objection may be urged against the Orphic notion that soul comes in from without in the process of respiration (*τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου εἰσιέναι ἀναπνεόντων*): this notion, he says, is obviously inapplicable in the case of plants and creatures that live without breathing. And as for the theory which underlies this notion, viz. that there is soul in the world outside us (*καὶ ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ δέ τινες αὐτὴν μεμῖχθαί φασιν*, § 17, 411ª 7), this also is for various reasons untenable (§§ 17—21). It would seem therefore that §§ 15, 17—21 constitute one long digression, and that the intervening paragraph § 16 must accordingly be deemed to be out of place, as breaking the continuity of the statement: it cannot be regarded as an interpolation, since it takes up a point already mentioned in an earlier section (§ 13, 410ᵇ 22) and serves to make the discussion of it complete. Assuming then that § 17 originally came immediately after § 15, I would restore in the above passage *καὶ ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ δή τινες*, in order to facilitate the transition from the one to the other.

De Anima II. 1, 412ᵇ 18: *εἰ γὰρ ἦν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ζῷον, ψυχὴ ἂν ἦν αὐτοῦ ἡ ὄψις· αὕτη γὰρ οὐσία ὀφθαλμοῦ ἡ κατὰ τὸν λόγον. ὁ δ' ὀφθαλμὸς ὕλη ὄψεως, ἧς ἀπολειπούσης οὐκέτ' ὀφθαλμός.*

As I read this passage, the clause *ὁ δ' ὀφθαλμὸς ὕλη ὄψεως* is a parenthesis, and should be marked as one—the relative clause *ἧς ἀπολειπούσης οὐκέτ' ὀφθαλμός* referring back to *οὐσία ὀφθαλμοῦ ἡ κατὰ τὸν λόγον* as its antecedent. Compare what has been said in the context on the subject of the axe in 412ᵇ 11, *καθάπερ εἴ τι τῶν ὀργάνων φυσικὸν ἦν σῶμα, οἷον πέλεκυς· ἦν γὰρ ἂν τὸ πελέκει εἶναι ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦτο· χωρισθείσης δὲ* [so Biehl] *ταύτης οὐκ ἂν ἔτι πέλεκυς ἦν*—where *χωρισθείσης δὲ ταύτης* means just the same thing as *ἧς ἀπολειπούσης*, and comes in in just the same way, both serving to define the nature of the *οὐσία* in question.

De Anima II. 2, 414ª 4: *ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾧ ζῶμεν καὶ αἰσθανόμεθα διχῶς λέγεται, καθάπερ ᾧ ἐπιστάμεθα, λέγομεν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐπιστήμην τὸ δὲ ψυχήν· ἑκατέρῳ γὰρ τούτων φαμὲν ἐπίστασθαι· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ᾧ ὑγιαίνομεν τὸ μὲν ὑγιείᾳ τὸ δὲ μορίῳ τινὶ τοῦ σώματος ἢ καὶ ὅλῳ κτέ.*

Here Biehl removes the comma after *ἐπιστάμεθα*, and brackets the δὲ after *λέγομεν* (with Bonitz). This change seems hardly necessary; but a line or so further on I think we might with advantage bracket the *ᾧ* before *ὑγιαίνομεν*; with the *ᾧ* the clause as a whole ought surely to have run thus: *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ᾧ ὑγιαίνομεν τὸ μὲν ὑγίεια* [or *ὑγίειαν*] *τὸ δὲ μόριόν τι τοῦ σώματος ἢ καὶ ὅλον.*

De Anima III. 2, 426ª 2: *εἰ δή ἐστιν ἡ κίνησις καὶ ἡ ποίησις καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐν τῷ ποιουμένῳ κτέ.*

Instead of taking *ποιουμένῳ* as meaning much the same thing as *πάσχοντι*, I would restore *κινουμένῳ* (which I see is actually the reading in the Aldine text), so as to make the main statement to be simply this, *εἰ δή ἐστιν ἡ κίνησις ἐν τῷ κινουμένῳ*, with *καὶ ἡ ποίησις καὶ τὸ πάθος* thrown in in the quasi-parenthetical fashion which is so common in Aristotle. As for *ποίησις*, it seems to be regarded here as a special kind of *κίνησις*, the latter being the more extensive term: comp. De Gen. et Corr. I. 6, 323ª 20, *τὸ κινεῖν ἐπὶ πλέον τοῦ ποιεῖν ἐστίν.*

De Anima III. 2, 426ª 27: *εἰ δ' ἡ συμφωνία φωνή τίς ἐστιν.*

The reading *ἡ φωνὴ συμφωνία τις* is recognized not only by Sophonias but also by Priscianus Lydus, whose testimony is as clear as it can be, *ἡ φωνὴ συμφωνία εἴρηται παρὰ τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει* (Metaphr. p. 22, 24).

De Anima II. 2, 426ᵇ 7: *ἡ δ' αἴσθησις ὁ λόγος· ὑπερβάλλοντα δὲ λυπεῖ ἢ φθείρει.*

Here again Priscian and Sophonias have preserved a better reading than that of the MSS., for they agree in reading *λύει* instead of *λυπεῖ*: the object of the verb is thus obviously *τὸν λόγον*—i.e. the *λόγος* which has just been pronounced to be identical with *αἴσθησις*. Apart from this evidence it is to be noted that the same word occurs and in the same sense in the parallel statement in II. 12, 424ª 30, *ἐὰν γὰρ ᾖ ἰσχυροτέρα τοῦ αἰσθητηρίου ἡ κίνησις, λύεται ὁ λόγος—τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἡ αἴσθησις.*

De Anima III. 2, 426ᵇ 24: *ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ λέγει ὅτι ἕτερον τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν, οὕτω καὶ ὅτε θάτερον λέγει ὅτι ἕτερον καὶ θάτερον, οὐ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς τὸ ὅτε· λέγω δ', οἷον*

νῦν λέγω ὅτι ἕτερον, οὐ μέντοι ὅτι νῦν ἕτερον· ἀλλ᾽ οὕτω λέγει, καὶ νῦν καὶ ὅτι νῦν· ἅμα ἄρα.

If I understand this aright, the punctuation of the text has to be amended, so as to make it clear that the whole of the passage from *οὐ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς τὸ ὅτε* to *καὶ νῦν καὶ ὅτι νῦν* is really a sort of parenthesis—one of those notes which in our existing Aristotelian text we sometimes find introduced without anything of the nature of a conjunction to connect them with what precedes. The argument in fact, if we may simplify its form by ignoring the accessories, is shortly this: *ὅτε θάτερον λέγει ὅτι ἕτερον, καὶ θάτερον* [scil. *λέγει ὅτι ἕτερον*]· *ἅμα ἄρα* [scil. *λέγει*]. The parenthetical note is merely thrown in to prevent a misconception to which the expression *ὅτε λέγει* might possibly give rise.

De Anima III. 3, 428ª 1: *εἰ δή ἐστιν ἡ φαντασία καθ᾽ ἣν λέγομεν φάντασμά τι ἡμῖν γίγνεσθαι καὶ μὴ εἴ τι κατὰ μεταφορὰν λέγομεν, μία τίς ἐστι τούτων δύναμις ἢ ἕξις, καθ᾽ ἣν κρίνομεν καὶ ἀληθεύομεν ἢ ψευδόμεθα.*

As the text now stands, *μία τίς ἐστι τούτων δύναμις κτέ.* has the appearance of being put forward as a true statement, but Aristotle can hardly be supposed to mean that: the whole point of the argument that follows is to show in detail the falsity of the idea, the ultimate conclusion being its direct negation, *οὔτ᾽ ἄρα ἕν τι τούτων ἐστὶν οὔτ᾽ ἐκ τούτων ἡ φαντασία.* It seems to me that after *κατὰ μεταφορὰν λέγομεν* we must suppose *ζητῶμεν εἰ* or something to that effect to have dropped out; and that the opening words of the passage (*εἰ δή—κατὰ μεταφορὰν λέγομεν*) are to be taken as a sort of provisional definition of the sense in which the word *φαντασία* will be used in the ensuing discussion as to its nature.

De Anima III. 3, 428ª 15: *καὶ ὅπερ δὲ ἐλέγομεν πρότερον, φαίνεται καὶ μύουσιν ὁράματα.*

I would read here *δὴ* instead of *δὲ*, with the MSS. of the second class.

De Anima III. 3, 428ᵇ 18: *ἡ αἴσθησις τῶν μὲν ἰδίων ἀληθής ἐστιν ἢ ὅτι ὀλίγιστον ἔχουσα τὸ ψεῦδος. δεύτερον δὲ τοῦ συμβεβηκέναι ταῦτα· καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ἐνδέχεται διαψεύδεσθαι· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ λευκόν, οὐ ψεύδεται, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λευκὸν ἢ ἄλλο*

τι, ψεύδεται. τρίτον δὲ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ ἑπομένων τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, οἷς ὑπάρχει τὰ ἴδια· λέγω δ' οἷον κίνησις καὶ μέγεθος, ἃ συμβέβηκε τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, περὶ ἃ μάλιστα ἤδη ἔστιν ἀπατηθῆναι κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν.

Aristotle is showing that there are degrees of truth in the report of sense; and his statement, read in the light of the parallels elsewhere (in De Anima II. 6 and III. 1), leaves no room for doubt as to his general meaning. First in order of truth comes our sense of the *ἴδια αἰσθητά*: next after this our sense of the things or substances of which the *ἴδια αἰσθητὰ* are attributes and marks: third, our sense of the *κοινὰ αἰσθητὰ* in these things or substances. As regards the second kind of sense (our consciousness of the presence of a thing or substance), Aristotle's theory is that the objects in this case are only indirectly known by sense; we perceive the sensible quality of whiteness (an *ἴδιον αἰσθητόν*) directly, but that the white thing is the son of Cleon—to take one of his instances—we perceive only indirectly and *κατὰ συμβεβηκός*, because *τούτῳ* [i.e. *τῷ λευκῷ*] *συμβέβηκεν υἱῷ Κλέωνος εἶναι* (III. 1, 425ª 26; comp. II. 6, 418ª 21 *κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς γὰρ τούτου αἰσθάνεται, ὅτι τῷ λευκῷ συμβέβηκε τοῦτο οὗ αἰσθάνεται*). In the order of being the sensible attribute is conceived as the *συμβεβηκὸς* of the substance, but in the order of knowledge the relative position of things is reversed: the sensible attribute is in the latter case the primary fact, the substance the secondary or accessory fact, the *συμβεβηκός*. It will be observed that in the above passage, when he comes to his third point, our perception of the *κοινὰ αἰσθητά*, Aristotle still speaks of the things or substances as *συμβεβηκότα*, but with the explanatory addition of *οἷς ὑπάρχει τὰ ἴδια*; he seems to be aware that he is using the word in an uncommon sense, and that some explanation therefore may be wanted to prevent misconception. Though the general meaning however is clear enough, the text of the passage as we now have it involves difficulties which have puzzled the commentators from the days of Themistius downwards, and which, it seems to me, no arts of interpretation will enable us to solve. In the last sentence—to deal with that first—I think Torstrik (whom Biehl follows) was quite right in

bracketing the words *ἃ συμβέβηκε τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς*. But how is one to account for their presence? They are not apparently a gloss or a varia lectio or an addition to make things easier, or in fact anything which can be recognized as having some sort of connexion with the clause of which they now form a part. Let us suppose them then to be out of place, and try the effect of putting them in the text after the much-discussed words *τοῦ συμβεβηκέναι ταῦτα* in l. 20. The result is that, in lieu of two unintelligibles, we have *τοῦ συμβεβηκέναι ταῦτα <ἃ συμβέβηκε τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς>*, the meaning of which is seen at once if one remembers the language already used by Aristotle in dealing with the same point elsewhere in earlier parts of his work (II. 6 and III. 1). I may add that in l. 24 the parenthesis does not include more than simply *λέγω δ' οἷον κίνησις καὶ μέγεθος*, and that what follows (*περὶ ἃ μάλιστα κτέ*). is virtually a new sentence, the parallel in form and import of that beginning with *καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἤδη* in l. 20. *Περὶ ἃ* here is equivalent to *καὶ περὶ ταῦτα* (comp. Vahlen on Poet. 4, 1448^{b} 30), and the reference is to the *κοινὰ* mentioned at the beginning of the sentence (*τρίτον δὲ τῶν κοινῶν*, l. 22).

De Anima III. 6, 430^{b} 13: *εἰ δ' ὡς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τῷ ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν, [τὸ δὲ μὴ κατὰ ποσὸν ἀδιαίρετον ἀλλὰ τῷ εἴδει νοεῖ ἐν ἀδιαιρέτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἀδιαιρέτῳ τῆς ψυχῆς.] κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς δέ, καὶ οὐχ ᾗ ἐκεῖνα διαιρετά, ὃ νοεῖ καὶ ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ, ἀλλ' ᾗ ἀδιαίρετα· ἔνεστι γὰρ κἀν τούτοις τι ἀδιαίρετον— ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐ χωριστόν—ὃ ποιεῖ ἕνα τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὸ μῆκος. καὶ τοῦθ' ὁμοίως ἐν ἅπαντί ἐστι τῷ συνεχεῖ, καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ μήκει. <τὸ δὲ μὴ κατὰ ποσὸν ἀδιαίρετον ἀλλὰ τῷ εἴδει νοεῖ ἐν ἀδιαιρέτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἀδιαιρέτῳ τῆς ψυχῆς.>*

I give this passage in the form which I think it ought to have—which differs in one or two important points from that in our editions. (1) In l. 14—15 I bracket a clause, which seems to me wholly out of place where it now stands. And besides this, it prevents us from seeing that the clause beginning with *κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς δέ* (l. 16) is really an adjunct to the first clause, to which it adds a noteworthy and indeed indispensable qualification. (2) In l. 16 I give *ὃ νοεῖ*, instead

of the vulgate reading *ᾧ νοεῖ*, with Vicomercatus[1]: *ὃ νοεῖ* means *τὸ νοούμενον*, i.e. *τὸ μῆκος*, as is shown by the concluding words in the sentence *ἕνα τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὸ μῆκος* in l. 18. (3) In l. 17 I retain *ἀλλ' ᾗ ἀδιαίρετα* as a very necessary part of the statement, instead of putting them within brackets as Torstrik and Biehl have done. (4) Lastly, in l. 20 after *μήκει* I find a place for the clause cut out at the beginning of the passage: having discussed the *ἀδιαίρετον κατὰ ποσόν*, Aristotle sees that it is necessary to add a word or two on the subject of the *ἀδιαίρετον κατὰ ποιόν*, or, as he chooses to term it, the *ἀδιαίρετον τῷ εἴδει*.

The argument in this part of Ch. VI. is thus rendered clear and consecutive. In the context which precedes Aristotle is talking of a *μῆκος* or whole of length. In the case of a *μῆκος*, he says, if we think of it (1) simply as a whole of length, without reference to the parts into which it may be divided, we do so in a corresponding whole of time also, without reference to the parts into which the time in like manner may be divided. (2) If we then divide it into parts (A, B) and think of these parts, they become in their turn quasi-wholes of length (*οἱονεὶ μήκη* l. 13), and the time is similarly divided into 'times' (*a*, *b*). (3) If we think of the *μῆκος* however as a whole made up of these parts (*ὡς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν*, i.e. as A + B), the time likewise is a whole made up of the several 'times' (*a* + *b*)—only *κατὰ συμβεβηκός*, however, he proceeds to say (if I may assume the truth of my view of l. 14—15): for the *μῆκος* and the time are wholes in themselves by virtue of a certain unity and integrity inherent in their nature (*ἔνεστι γὰρ καὶ τούτοις τὶ ἀδιαίρετον κτέ.*); and the reference to the various possible parts into which we may divide them is only one of the 'accidents' connected with them. Now this is true generally of every whole of quantity (*ἐν ἅπαντί ἐστι τῷ συνεχεῖ, καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ μήκει*). But with a whole of quality or kind (*τὸ μὴ κατὰ ποσὸν ἀδιαίρετον ἀλλὰ τῷ εἴδει*) the case is to a certain extent different.

De Anima III. 6, 430^{b} 20: *ἡ δὲ στιγμὴ καὶ πᾶσα διαίρεσις*

[1] Comm. in tertium librum Arist. de anima, p. 162, Paris, 1543.

καὶ τὸ οὕτως ἀδιαίρετον δηλοῦται ὥσπερ ἡ στέρησις. καὶ ὅμοιος ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἷον πῶς τὸ κακὸν γνωρίζει ἢ τὸ μέλαν· τῷ ἐναντίῳ γάρ πως γνωρίζει. δεῖ δὲ δυνάμει εἶναι τὸ γνωρίζον καὶ ἐνεῖναι ἐν αὐτῷ· εἰ δέ τινι μή ἐστιν ἐναντίον τῶν αἰτίων, αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ γινώσκει καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ ἐστὶ καὶ χωριστόν.

The only variations to be noted here are in l. 24 ἓν εἶναι (for ἐνεῖναι) and the omission of ἐν before αὐτῷ; and in l. 25 ἐναντίων (instead of αἰτίων). As regards the perplexing words τῶν αἰτίων, Zeller has already suggested that we should bracket them as a sort of dittographia of the preceding ἐναντίον. A somewhat different explanation of their presence in the text has occurred to me, which I may as well mention: it is that τῶν αἰτίων was originally an attempt to make some semblance of sense out of an older reading AITION or ANTION recorded in the margin and then inserted in the wrong place—its true place being in the line before this. I suspect therefore that we should restore the passage thus: δεῖ δὲ δυνάμει εἶναι τὸ γνωρίζον καὶ ἐνANTION εἶναι ἐν αὐτῷ· εἰ δέ [*or* δ' ἔν] τινι μή ἐστιν ἐναντίον [τῶν αἰτίων], αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ γινώσκει καὶ ἐνέργειά [*so apparently Themistius*] ἐστι καὶ χωριστόν. Dealing with the question as to the way in which we know the point and ἀδιαίρετα of that kind, Aristotle tells us that we know them in the same way as we know evil or blackness, i.e. as negative entities, through the ἐναντίον of that which we know positively. The γνωρίζον therefore in such cases is necessarily a δύναμις ἐναντίων—with the ἐναντίον of the positively known entity in it. But if there is any γνωρίζον for [*or* in] which there is no such ἐναντίον in its thought, that γνωρίζον is not a δύναμις but an ἐνέργεια—τῇ οὐσίᾳ ὢν ἐνέργεια being what Aristotle has said of νοῦς in a very similar passage in the preceding Ch. (430ᵃ 18).

De Anima III. 7, 431ᵃ 20: τίνι δ' ἐπικρίνει τί διαφέρει γλυκὺ καὶ θερμόν, εἴρηται μὲν καὶ πρότερον, λεκτέον δὲ καὶ ὧδε· ἔστι γὰρ ἕν τι, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὡς ὅρος· καὶ ταῦτα ἓν τῷ ἀνάλογον καὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ ὃν ἔχει πρὸς ἑκάτερον, ὡς ἐκεῖνα πρὸς ἄλληλα.

Though this passage has been supposed by more than one

modern scholar to require emendation, the only serious difficulty it presents seems to me to be merely one of interpretation. If *ἐκεῖνα* means, as it must, the objective qualities, how is it that Aristotle can speak of their subjective counterparts as simply *ταῦτα*, without some word of explanation as to what he means by *ταῦτα*? It seems to me that his love of brevity has led him to assume that the meaning of *ταῦτα* was already intimated and determined by the word *ὅρος* that immediately precedes it; and that the sense of the passage is sufficiently clear, if we remember what *ὅρος* implies, and amplify the statement accordingly: the *ἐπικρῖνον* is necessarily one thing; and as being one thing (*οὕτω*) it also serves as a limit (*ὡς ὅρος*) between two things; and the two things it thus distinguishes (*ταῦτα*)... are to one another as the objective qualities in question are to one another.

De Anima III. 7, 431^{b} 5: *οἷον αἰσθανόμενος τὸν φρυκτὸν ὅτι πῦρ τῇ κοινῇ γνωρίζει ὁρῶν κινούμενον ὅτι πολέμιος. ὁτὲ δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φαντάσμασιν ἢ νοήμασιν ὥσπερ ὁρῶν λογίζεται καὶ βουλεύεται τὰ μέλλοντα πρὸς τὰ παρόντα.*

T*ῇ κοινῇ*, notwithstanding its position in the sentence, is usually taken with *ὁρῶν κινούμενον* on the ground that *κίνησις* is one of Aristotle's *κοιναὶ αἰσθητά*. But the position of the two words is not the only difficulty they involve: they are superfluous, and also hardly in accordance with the general doctrine as to the *κοιναὶ αἰσθητά* given in III. 1 of the De Anima. The antithesis here is simply between what we see (*ὁρῶν*) and what we only *as it were* see (*ὥσπερ ὁρῶν*), i.e. imagine; and it is weakened or rather utterly spoilt by the addition of a superfluity like *τῇ κοινῇ*—which seems due to some annotator who was aware that *κίνησις* was one of the *κοιναὶ αἰσθητά*, but did not understand the Aristotelian theory as to how we know them. Vision, like the other senses, has two kinds of objects, *ἴδια* and *κοινά* (comp. 455^{a} 13), and we may therefore be said to 'see' the *κοινὸν* called motion; but we see it by vision (*ὄψις*), not by means of a separate *κοινὴ αἴσθησις*: Aristotle in fact has definitely argued and shown in III. 1 that there is no such separate sense (425^{a} 28). Even *αἰσθάνεσθαι τῇ κοινῇ* therefore would be from the point of view

of the De Anima an inaccurate form of expression. The objection to Torstrik's reading *τῇ κινήσει* is (besides its want of authority) that it lays too great emphasis on one of the subordinate details of this particular illustration: the essential point in the statement is simply this: If we see something alarming—the beacon torch in motion, for instance—we are immediately moved to action; and in like manner, if we imagine something alarming, we are also moved to action.

De Anima III. 7, 431^{b} 12: *τὰ δ' ἐν ἀφαιρέσει λεγόμενα νοεῖ ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τὸ σιμόν, ᾗ μὲν σιμόν, οὐ κεχωρισμένως, ᾗ δὲ κοῖλον, εἴ τις ἐνόει ἐνεργείᾳ, ἄνευ τῆς σαρκὸς ἂν ἐνόει ἐν ᾗ τὸ κοῖλον. οὕτω τὰ μαθηματικὰ οὐ κεχωρισμένα ὡς κεχωρισμένα νοεῖ, ὅταν νοῇ ἐκεῖνα. ὅλως δὲ ὁ νοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ κατ' ἐνέργειαν τὰ πράγματα νοῶν.*

The construction here has been misunderstood by some, through failure to see that in the clause *ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ κτέ.* the relative has as a grammatical antecedent the *οὕτω* before *τὰ μαθηματικά*, the sentence being in point of form just like that in III. 6, 430^{a} 28—30 (*καθάπερ...οὕτω κτέ.*), where the punctuation has been duly set right by Vahlen. And as regards the *ἂν* after *ὥσπερ*, I take it to be an anticipation of the *ἄν* in the apodosis (*ἄνευ τῆς σαρκὸς ἂν ἐνόει*), so that *ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ* is not to be understood in the same way as what is sometimes written *ὡσπερανεί*. The general sense of the passage, if we for a moment ignore all difficulties of detail, seems clear enough. As for *τὰ μαθηματικά*, though they are really inseparable, we think them as separate from matter, just in the same way as, if one thought the *σιμὸν* as simply hollow, one would think it so as apart from the flesh (the nose), the particular matter wherein it is found. *Σιμότης*, as we are told elsewhere (e.g. 173^{b} 10), is *κοιλότης ῥινός*; if one therefore thought it as *κοιλότης* merely, one would think it apart from the *ῥὶς* which presents the *κοιλότης*. But though there is no doubt as to Aristotle's meaning, it is impossible, I think, to get this meaning out of his words as they now stand. I venture therefore to reconstruct the first part of our passage thus:—

τὰ δ' ἐν ἀφαιρέσει λεγόμενα νοεῖ, ὥσπερ ἄν, εἴ <τις> τὸ σιμὸν ᾗ μὲν σιμὸν οὔ [κεχωρισμένως], ᾗ δὲ κοῖλον [εἴ τις] ἐνόει,

ἐνεργείᾳ <νοῦν> ἄνευ τῆς σαρκὸς ἂν ἐνόει ἐν ᾗ τὸ κοῖλον, οὕτω τὰ μαθηματικὰ κτέ.

— with the omission also (as already suggested by Bonitz) of *νοῦν* at the end of the sentence (l. 17). In l. 13 I write *εἴ <τις>*, and assume the *εἴ τις* bracketed in l. 14 to have been originally a marginal correction of the reading *εἰ*. In l. 14 I excise *κεχωρισμένως*, on the assumption that it originated in a varia lectio for *κεχωρισμένα ὡς* [i.e. *κεχωρισμέν' ὡς*] in l. 16; Simplicius tells us that there actually was such a varia lectio in his days. After *ἐνεργείᾳ* I insert *νοῦν*, the word which Bonitz has expunged from l. 17: and as for the meaning, I take the words *ἐνεργείᾳ νοῦν* along with what follows, and suppose them to mean much the same sort of thing as *ὅταν νοῇ ἐκεῖνα* in l. 16, which is what corresponds to them in the parallel account of *τὰ μαθηματικά*.

De Anima III. 8, 432ª 1: *ὥστε ἡ ψυχὴ ὥσπερ ἡ χεὶρ ἐστιν· καὶ γὰρ ἡ χεὶρ ὄργανόν ἐστιν ὀργάνων, καὶ ὁ νοῦς εἶδος εἰδῶν καὶ ἡ αἴσθησις εἶδος αἰσθητῶν.*

Aristotle is telling us here that in sensation and knowledge the soul takes in not the objects but the *εἴδη* of them—not the stone itself, for instance, but the *εἶδος* of stone. So that, as the hand is the *ὄργανον ὀργάνων*, the soul is the *εἶδος εἰδῶν*, the *νοῦς* being the *εἶδος* of the *νοητὰ* and *αἴσθησις* that of the *αἰσθητὰ εἴδη*. This it seems to me is what Aristotle in strict logic ought to say, but it is not quite what is said in his present text. There is also something anomalous in the language. In the expression *εἶδος εἰδῶν* the word *εἰδῶν* does not mean 'forms' generally—it seems to mean par excellence the *νοητὰ εἴδη*; but this is not the sense it bears in the immediate context, where we have two instances of the use of the word in the more general sense of 'form,' one just before this passage (431ᵇ 29), the other two lines further on (432ª 5, *ἐν τοῖς εἴδεσι τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τὰ νοητά* [scil. *εἴδη*] *ἐστι*). I am inclined to think therefore that a word has dropped out, and that we ought to read, *ὁ νοῦς εἶδος εἰδῶν <νοητῶν>* or something to that effect.

De Anima III. 9, 432ª 18: *περὶ δὲ τοῦ κινοῦντος, τί ποτέ ἐστι τῆς ψυχῆς, σκεπτέον, πότερον ἕν τι μόριον αὐτῆς χωριστὸν*

ὂν ἢ μεγέθει ἢ λόγῳ, ἢ πᾶσα ἡ ψυχή· κἂν εἰ μόριόν τι, πότερον ἴδιόν τι κτέ.

For κἂν εἰ we should surely read simply καὶ εἰ.

De Anima III. 10, 433ª 9: φαίνεται δέ γε δύο ταῦτα κινοῦντα, ἢ ὄρεξις ἢ νοῦς, εἴ τις τὴν φαντασίαν τιθείη ὡς νόησίν τινα. πολλὰ γὰρ παρὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀκολουθοῦσι ταῖς φαντασίαις, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις οὐ νόησις οὐδὲ λογισμός ἐστιν ἀλλὰ φαντασία.

In l. 9 I would read ταῦτα <τὰ> κινοῦντα, just as we have a few lines further on (l. 17), ἅστε εὐλόγως ταῦτα δύο φαίνεται τὰ κινοῦντα. In l. 10 πολλὰ seems to be a blunder for πολλοί. That φαντασία may stand in place of thought, as one of the springs of action, is shown by the fact that many men (πολλοί) as well as the lower animals (ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις) follow its guidance.

De Anima III. 10, 433ª 13: ἄμφω ἄρα ταῦτα κινητικὰ κατὰ τόπον, νοῦς καὶ ὄρεξις. νοῦς δὲ ὁ ἕνεκά του λογιζόμενος καὶ ὁ πρακτικός· διαφέρει δὲ τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ τῷ τέλει. καὶ ἡ ὄρεξις ἕνεκά του πᾶσα· οὗ γὰρ ἡ ὄρεξις, αὐτὴ ἀρχὴ τοῦ πρακτικοῦ νοῦ κτέ.

I should prefer καὶ ἡ ὄρεξις <δ'> ἕνεκά του πᾶσα. Aristotle assumes that νοῦς πρακτικὸς is ἕνεκά του, and then proceeds to show that, this being the case, desire *also* is likewise ἕνεκά του.

De Anima III. 10, 433ᵇ 10: εἴδει μὲν ἓν ἂν εἴη τὸ κινοῦν, τὸ ὀρεκτικὸν ἢ ὀρεκτικόν—πρῶτον δὲ πάντων τὸ ὀρεκτόν· τοῦτο γὰρ κινεῖ οὐ κινούμενον τῷ νοηθῆναι ἢ φαντασθῆναι—ἀριθμῷ δὲ πλείω τὰ κινοῦντα.

I give this with the punctuation amended, so as to show the extent of the parenthesis, which begins not at τοῦτο but at πρῶτον: the parenthetical note corrects a possible error which might arise from the first statement, in which τὸ ὀρεκτικὸν is spoken of as τὸ κινοῦν.

De Anima III. 10, 433ᵇ 21: νῦν δὲ ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ εἰπεῖν, τὸ κινοῦν ὀργανικῶς ὅπου ἀρχὴ καὶ τελευτὴ τὸ αὐτό—οἷον ὁ γιγγλυμός· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ κυρτὸν καὶ τὸ κοῖλον τὸ μὲν τελευτὴ τὸ δ' ἀρχή (διὸ τὸ μὲν ἠρεμεῖ τὸ δὲ κινεῖται) λόγῳ μὲν ἕτερα ὄντα, μεγέθει δ' ἀχώριστα. πάντα γὰρ ὧσει καὶ ἕλξει κινεῖται.

διὸ δεῖ ὥσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ μένειν τι, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεσθαι τὴν κίνησιν.

Here again I have amended the punctuation to make it suit the sense of the passage as I would read it myself. The little clause in l. 24 *διὸ τὸ μὲν ἠρεμεῖ τὸ δὲ κινεῖται* seems to be a mere parenthesis, a sort of corollary to what precedes, with the natural order of the terms inverted, as is so frequently the case in Aristotle: I need hardly say that that which is at rest is the *ἀρχή*, and that which is moved the *τελευτή*. What follows this parenthesis (*λόγῳ—ἀχώριστα*) refers back to *τὸ κυρτὸν καὶ τὸ κοῖλον* in l. 23, the main point of the statement being really this, that in the complex whole called the hinge-joint the *κυρτὸν* and *κοῖλον*, the *τελευτή* and the *ἀρχή* of the contrivance, are *μεγέθει ἀχώριστα*, and thus *τὸ αὐτό*. After *ἀχώριστα* in l. 25 I have put a full stop, in lieu of the colon of the editions. The new sentence, *πάντα γὰρ ὧσει κτέ.*, gives a reason for the first statement in our passage: it is no part of the illustrative digression on the subject of the hinge-joint, but refers back to what precedes it; and it is not to be taken as true of motion generally, but only of the motion of animals. All animals move by pushing and pulling; now this (says Aristotle) implies a fixed central point from which the movable member works backward and forward, to push and pull the creature along.

De Anima III. 11, 434ª 10: *καὶ αἴτιον τοῦτο τοῦ δόξαν μὴ δοκεῖν ἔχειν ὅτι τὴν ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, αὕτη δ' ἐκείνην. διὸ τὸ βουλευτικὸν οὐκ ἔχει ἡ ὄρεξις. νικᾷ δ' ἐνίοτε καὶ κινεῖ τὴν βούλησιν· ὁτὲ δ' ἐκείνη ταύτην, ὥσπερ σφαῖρα, ἡ ὄρεξις τὴν ὄρεξιν, ὅταν ἀκρασία γένηται. φύσει δὲ ἀεὶ ἡ ἄνω ἀρχικωτέρα καὶ κινεῖ.*

The first question that suggests itself here is as to the subject of the verb *δοκεῖν ἔχειν* in l. 10: the sense shows that it must be *τἆλλα ζῷα* (the inferior animals, which have been stated to be destitute of *βουλευτικὴ φαντασία*), but at the same time it must be admitted that *τἆλλα ζῷα* is too remote and too completely cut off by the intervening context to be readily supplied by the mind before *δοκεῖν ἔχειν*. The second is as to the meaning of *αὕτη δ' ἐκείνην* in l. 11. The meaning

of the preceding clause is sufficiently obvious, 'The reason why the inferior animals are not thought to have δόξα is because they have not ἡ ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ [*i.e.* βουλευτικὴ] φαντασία, of which we are now speaking': the statement here is too clear to require any addition; but if any were wanted, it would hardly be one like that we have in the existing text, 'but this latter has the former'. The third question arises through the difficulties connected with ὁτὲ δ' ἐκείνη ταύτην and its context in l. 13, which have already been felt, though hardly, as it seems to me, solved by Torstrik and others.

My notion as to what Aristotle really intends to say in the latter half of this passage (νικᾷ δ' ἐνίοτε κτέ.) is briefly this: he is thinking of βουλευτικὴ φαντασία, or rather of βουλευτικὴ ὄρεξις, which is the same thing under another name: now this is the highest kind of ὄρεξις (ἡ ἄνω l. 15), and in the nature of things it should rule the rest and move the will accordingly (φύσει...ἀρχικωτέρα καὶ κινεῖ l. 16). But in the abnormal condition called incontinence (ὅταν ἀκρασία γένηται l. 14), the soul is in a state of anarchy, first one desire getting the upper hand and then another, at one moment desire A overpowers desire B, at another desire B overpowers desire A (ὁτὲ δ' ἐκείνη ταύτην l. 13)—the will being moved by whichever happens to have the mastery at the time (νικᾷ, καὶ κινεῖ τὴν βούλησιν), so that it is simply tossed to and fro like a shuttle-cock or ball (ὥσπερ σφαῖρα l. 13), instead of being moved by some rational motive. I assume that in l. 12 the words καὶ κινεῖ τὴν βούλησιν are thrown in parenthetically to explain the consequence of νικᾷ, without affecting the construction of what follows, which proceeds just as if we had νικᾷ and nothing more than that: another instance of the same kind is in III. 7, 431^{b} 7, λογίζεται καὶ βουλεύεται τὰ μέλλοντα πρὸς τὰ παρόντα—where the construction of the words is, λογίζεται τὰ μέλλοντα πρὸς τὰ παρόντα, with καὶ βουλεύεται thrown in to show that λογίζεται practically means βουλεύεται. If we may therefore for an instant ignore these words, and also (though for another reason) the words ὥσπερ σφαῖρα, the sentence when thus reduced to its simple form will be, νικᾷ δ' ἐνίοτε... ὁτὲ δ' ἐκείνη ταύτην...ἡ ὄρεξις τὴν ὄρεξιν. This however is

obviously incomplete; but we can complete it easily by writing, *<ὁτὲ μὲν αὕτη ἐκείνην> ὁτὲ δ' ἐκείνη ταύτην*; and it will be observed that the words thus inserted are all but identical with those which we have very good reason to wish away from l. 11. My suspicion is that when *αὕτη ἐκείνην* got transferred to l. 11, it dispossessed *τἆλλα ζῷα* or its equivalent; and that the mishap which caused it to fall out of l. 13, extended to *ὥσπερ σφαῖρα*. The whole passage therefore may have been in this form:—

καὶ αἴτιον τοῦτο τοῦ δόξαν μὴ δοκεῖν ἔχειν, ὅτι τὴν ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ οὐκ ἔχει τἆλλα ζῷα· διὸ τὸ βουλευτικὸν οὐκ ἔχει ἡ ὄρεξις. νικᾷ δ' ἐνίοτε—καὶ κινεῖ τὴν βούλησιν ὥσπερ σφαῖρα—ὁτὲ μὲν αὕτη ἐκείνην ὁτὲ δ' ἐκείνη ταύτην ἡ ὄρεξις τὴν ὄρεξιν, ὅταν ἀκρασία γένηται· φύσει δ' ἀεὶ ἡ ἄνω ἀρχικωτέρα καὶ κινεῖ.

— where I suppose *ὥσπερ σφαῖρα* may without much difficulty be understood as meaning *ὥσπερ σφαῖρα κινεῖται*. At any rate a *σφαῖρα* is a thing moved, and the only other thing mentioned here that can be aptly brought into comparison with it in this respect, is the *βούλησις* as set in motion by desire. It may be observed that in the last clause *ἀρχικωτέρα καὶ κινεῖ* (said of *ἡ ἄνω ὄρεξις*) is exactly parallel to *νικᾷ καὶ κινεῖ τὴν βούλησιν* in l. 12.

De Anima III. 12, 434^{b} 18: *διὸ καὶ ἡ γεῦσίς ἐστιν ὥσπερ ἁφή τις· τροφῆς γάρ ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ τροφὴ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἁπτόν.*

It is not true to say, *ἡ τροφὴ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἁπτόν*, for a stone may be touched, but it is not food. The reading should perhaps be, *τὸ ἁπτὸν <καὶ θρεπτικόν>*, just as we have in the restatement of this a few lines further on, *ὥστε καὶ τὴν γεῦσιν ἀνάγκη ἁφὴν εἶναί τινα, διὰ τὸ ἁπτοῦ καὶ θρεπτικοῦ αἴσθησιν εἶναι* (l. 21).

De Anima III. 12, 434^{b} 24: *αἱ δ' ἄλλαι τοῦ τε εὖ ἕνεκα καὶ γένει ζῴων ἤδη οὐ τῷ τυχόντι, ἀλλὰ τισίν, οἷον τῷ πορευτικῷ ἀνάγκη ὑπάρχειν.*

For *τισίν* I would suggest *τινί*.

De Insomn. 2, 460^{b} 23: *τοῦ δὲ διεψεῦσθαι αἴτιον ὅτι οὐ μόνον τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ κινουμένου φαίνεται ἀδήποτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ*

τῆς αἰσθήσεως κινουμένης αὐτῆς, ἐὰν ὡσαύτως κινῆται ὥσπερ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ.

For κινουμένου read κινοῦντος: the contrast is between a sense set in motion from without by its object (κινοῦντος τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ κινεῖσθαι), and a sense set in motion by itself from within.

Eth. Nic. I. 5, 1097[a] 25: ἐπεὶ δὴ πλείω φαίνεται τὰ τέλη, τούτων δὲ αἱρούμεθά τινα δι' ἕτερα, οἷον πλοῦτον αὐλοὺς καὶ ὅλως τὰ ὄργανα κτέ.

Though there is something obviously wrong in αὐλούς, the only noteworthy corrections proposed hitherto are according to Susemihl ἀγροὺς (Coray) and φίλους (Bonitz). I would suggest δούλους.

Eth. Nic. III. 5, 1112[b] 15: ἀλλὰ θέμενοι τέλος τι, πῶς καὶ διὰ τίνων ἔσται σκοποῦσι, καὶ διὰ πλειόνων μὲν φαινομένου γίνεσθαι διὰ τίνος ῥᾷστα καὶ κάλλιστα ἐπισκοποῦσι, δι' ἑνὸς δ' ἐπιτελουμένου πῶς διὰ τούτου ἔσται κἀκεῖνο διὰ τίνος, ἕως ἂν ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον.

The general sense is this: given A as an end to be realized, there may be several possible means for its realization, and the question then is, Which of all these is the best means? But if there is only one possible means, viz. B, the next question is, By what means can we realize B? and when we have found the means to be C, we ask a similar question as to C, and so on to the end. Now in the Greek here, when Aristotle says (l. 15) πῶς καὶ διὰ τίνων ἔσται, he adds the καὶ διὰ τίνων to explain the sense in which he is using the word πῶς ('how, *i.e.* by what means'), just as in another place in the immediate context he says, πῶς ἢ διὰ τίνος (1112[b] 30). This alone is enough to make us hesitate about πῶς διὰ τούτου ἔσται (l. 18), but one's doubt does not end here: if there is any meaning in the words at all, they are certainly not *ad rem*. If A is seen to be realizable only by means of B, the enquirer would not naturally ask, How can it be realized by means of B (πῶς διὰ τούτου ἔσται)? but rather, How and by what means then is B to be realized? Aristotle therefore must be supposed to have written something like this: δι' ἑνὸς δ' ἐπιτελουμένου <τούτου> πῶς [διὰ τούτου] ἔσται κἀκεῖνο <καὶ> διὰ τίνος—where κἀκεῖνο

refers to the means just mentioned (δι' ἑνός), which becomes in its turn also a matter for consideration when we have to ask how it can be realized.

Eth. Nic. IV. 5, 1123[a] 10: *καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δαπανημάτων ἕκαστον μέγα ἐν τῷ γένει· καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον μὲν τὸ ἐν μεγάλῳ μέγα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸ ἐν τούτοις μέγα.*

After *μεγαλοπρεπέστατον* some such word as *ἁπλῶς* seems to have dropped out.

Eth. Nic. VI. 2, 1139[a] 27: *τῆς δὲ θεωρητικῆς διανοίας καὶ μὴ πρακτικῆς μηδὲ ποιητικῆς τὸ εὖ καὶ κακῶς τἀληθές ἐστι καὶ ψεῦδος· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι παντὸς διανοητικοῦ ἔργον, τοῦ δὲ πρακτικοῦ καὶ διανοητικοῦ ἡ ἀλήθεια ὁμολόγως ἔχουσα τῇ ὀρέξει τῇ ὀρθῇ.*

τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι παντὸς διανοητικοῦ ἔργον is a mere parenthesis, and should be marked as such by means of a colon after *ἔργον*. In the clause that follows the subject is *τὸ εὖ*, not *ἡ ἀλήθεια*: what Aristotle practically says is, that in the one case *τὸ εὖ* is *ἀλήθεια* (*τἀληθές*), and in the other *ἀλήθεια* of a certain special kind. The article therefore before *ἀλήθεια* (l. 30) would seem to be an intruder, and as a matter of fact it is wanting in K[b].

Eth. Nic. VII. 15, 1154[b] 21: *οὐκ ἀεὶ δ' οὐθὲν ἡδὺ τὸ αὐτὸ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἁπλῆν ἡμῶν εἶναι τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἐνεῖναί τι καὶ ἕτερον, καθὸ φθαρτά, ὥστε ἄν τι θάτερον πράττῃ, τοῦτο τῇ ἑτέρᾳ φύσει παρὰ φύσιν.*

I suspect that *φθαρτά* is an error for *φθαρτοί*.

Eth. Nic. VIII. 11, 1160[a] 14: *αἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλαι κοινωνίαι κατὰ μέρη τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐφίενται, οἷον πλωτῆρες μὲν τοῦ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν πρὸς ἐργασίαν χρημάτων ἤ τι τοιοῦτον, συστρατιῶται δὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, εἴτε χρημάτων εἴτε νίκης ἢ πόλεως ὀρεγόμενοι, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ φυλέται καὶ δημόται. ἔνιαι δὲ τῶν κοινωνιῶν δι' ἡδονὴν δοκοῦσι γίγνεσθαι, θιασωτῶν καὶ ἐρανιστῶν· αὗται γὰρ θυσίας ἕνεκα καὶ συνουσίας. πᾶσαι δ' αὗται ὑπὸ τὴν πολιτικὴν εἰοίκασιν εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ τοῦ παρόντος συμφέροντος ἡ πολιτικὴ ἐφίεται, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον, θυσίας τε ποιοῦντες καὶ περὶ ταύτας συνόδους, τιμὰς ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ αὑτοῖς ἀναπαύσεις πορίζοντες μεθ' ἡδονῆς. αἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖαι θυσίαι καὶ σύνοδοι φαίνονται γίνεσθαι μετὰ τὰς*

τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδὰς οἷον ἀπαρχαί· μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τούτοις ἐσχόλαζον τοῖς καιροῖς. πᾶσαι δὴ φαίνονται αἱ κοινωνίαι μόρια τῆς πολιτικῆς εἶναι.

The point on which Aristotle is now enlarging is that αἱ κοινωνίαι πᾶσαι μορίοις ἐοίκασι τῆς πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας (1160ª 9); and to prove this he seems to argue as follows:—

A—The other κοινωνίαι (those of soldiers, sailors etc.) aim each of them at some special form of συμφέρον.

B—But there are certain κοινωνίαι, religious or social, which *seem* to have a non-utilitarian purpose, and to aim at pleasure rather than τὸ συμφέρον.

C—But all these (πᾶσαι δ' αὗται, i.e. apparently the κοινωνίαι of soldiers, sailors etc.) come under the πολιτικὴ κοινωνία—which aims at the συμφέρον of the whole of life, and not (as the χειροτέχναι of politics seem to think) at the mere συμφέρον of the moment.

D—The religious κοινωνίαι combine honour to the gods with pleasure for themselves, the non-utilitarian character of their union being shown by the fact that in the case of the older associations of this kind the festivals take place after the harvest, at a time when originally all serious work was over and there was leisure for relaxation (ἐσχόλαζον).

E—All our κοινωνίαι therefore come under ἡ πολιτική.

In all this there is to my mind no semblance of logical consecutiveness; and there is also a manifest break-down in the construction in the clause (l. 23) θυσίας τε ποιοῦντες, which cannot be grammatically connected with anything that precedes it. Let us try the effect, however, of reading the paragraphs, not as they stand, but in this order, ACBDE: the result will then be a fairly coherent argument, which comes practically to this:—

(A) The other κοινωνίαι (those of sailors, soldiers etc.) aim each of them at some special form of συμφέρον, (C) but they are all really subordinate to the great πολιτικὴ κοινωνία, which (rightly understood) aims at the συμφέρον of the whole of life. (BD) As for the religious κοινωνίαι, which *seem* to aim at pleasure rather than the συμφέρον, they are only an apparent exception to the rule. (E) All our κοινωνίαι therefore may be said to be μόρια τῆς πολιτικῆς.

This involves the transference of the clause *ἔνιαι δὲ—καὶ συνουσίας* to a place two or three lines further down, after *βίον* and before *θυσίας*; and also some little change in the actual words of the text to make the connexion clear and satisfactory. I would suggest, therefore,

<ἔνιαι δὲ τῶν κοινωνιῶν δι' ἡδονὴν δοκοῦσι γίγνεσθαι, <αἱ> θιασωτῶν καὶ ἐρανιστῶν. οὗτοι γὰρ θυσίας ἕνεκα καὶ συνουσίας>—θυσίας τε ποιοῦντες καὶ περὶ ταύτας συνόδους, τιμὰς ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ αὑτοῖς ἀναπαύσεις πορίζοντες μεθ' ἡδονῆς κτέ.

The participial clause *θυσίας τε κτέ.* is added to show that these associations really have a double purpose (*θυσίας ἕνεκα καὶ συνουσίας*), pleasure in the shape of social enjoyment being a very essential part of their *raison d'être*; so that we may truly say of them that they *δι' ἡδονὴν γίγνονται*. But if I understand him aright, Aristotle means to intimate that this is not the whole truth; they supply us with a way of using *σχολή*, which is really part of the *συμφέρον εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον*, and therefore part of the general object of the *πολιτικὴ κοινωνία*.

Eth. Nic. IX. 3, 1165^{b} 13: *ἐὰν δ' ἀποδέχηται ὡς ἀγαθόν, γένηται δὲ μοχθηρὸς καὶ δοκῇ, ἆρ' ἔτι φιλητέον; ἢ οὐ δυνατόν, εἴπερ μὴ πᾶν φιλητὸν ἀλλὰ τἀγαθόν; οὔτε δὲ φιλητέον πονηρὸν οὔτε δεῖ· φιλοπόνηρον γὰρ οὐ χρὴ εἶναι.*

The question Aristotle is raising is whether one ought still to love a friend when we see that he has become bad; and his answer is practically this: Perhaps it is even impossible to love him, as only the good is lovable, and the evil neither is nor ought to be lovable. I suspect then that we should read *οὐδὲ δυνατόν* in l. 14, and in l. 15 restore *φιλητὸν <τὸ> πονηρὸν*, with a comma after *τἀγαθόν* in place of the mark of interrogation.

Eth. Nic. IX. 4, 1166^{a} 19: *ἕκαστος δ' ἑαυτῷ βούλεται τἀγαθά· γενόμενος δ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς αἱρεῖται πάντ' ἔχειν [ἐκεῖνο τὸ γενόμενον]—ἔχει γὰρ καὶ νῦν ὁ θεὸς τἀγαθόν—ἀλλ' ὢν ὅ τι ποτ' ἐστίν.*

I have ventured to bracket *ἐκεῖνο τὸ γενόμενον*, which may possibly have been a marginal note on *ὁ θεὸς* in the next line.

The participial γενόμενος ἄλλος qualifies not αἱρεῖται but the verb after it, πάντα ἔχειν; πάντα ἔχειν therefore cannot have ἐκεῖνο τὸ γενόμενον as its subject.

Rhet. I. 7, 1365ª 10: καὶ διαιρούμενα δὲ εἰς τὰ μέρη τὰ αὐτὰ μείζω φαίνεται. πλειόνων γὰρ ὑπερέχειν φαίνεται.

For πλειόνων I would restore πλεῖον. In the parallel which follows close after this in the same context we have (l. 16), καὶ τὸ συντιθέναι δὲ...διά τε τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ διαιρέσει· ἡ γὰρ σύνθεσις ὑπεροχὴν δείκνυσι πολλήν.

Rhet. I. 9, 1368ª 14: καὶ εἰ πολλάκις τὸ αὐτὸ κατώρθωκεν· μέγα γάρ, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τύχης ἀλλὰ δι' αὑτὸν ἂν δόξειεν.

Read δι' αὑτοῦ, just as we have in Eth. Nic. III. 5 δι' ἡμῶν (1112ª 30, 1112ᵇ 3 and 1112ᵇ 27), δι' αὑτῶν (1112ª 34), and τὸ δι' ἀνθρώπου (1112ª 33), which last is contrasted with τὰ ἀπὸ τύχης in the same way as τὸ δι' αὑτοῦ is here.

Rhet. II. 20, 1393ᵇ 30: ἐὰν δὲ τούτους ἀφέληται [so Roemer with Aᶜ], ἕτεροι ἐλθόντες πεινῶντες ἐκπιοῦνταί μου τὸ αἷμα.

These are the words of the fox in the fable, addressed to the hedgehog that comes forward with an offer of assistance to him in his distress. Perhaps we should read ἀφέλητε ('if you people remove these'), instead of taking ἀφέληται in the sense of ἀφέληταί τις, as Roemer does.

Rhet. II. 23, 1397ª 23: εἰ γὰρ θατέρῳ ὑπάρχει τὸ καλῶς ἢ δικαίως ποιῆσαι, θατέρῳ τὸ πεπονθέναι, καὶ εἰ κελεῦσαι, καὶ τὸ πεποιηκέναι.

Perhaps, <καὶ> θατέρῳ τὸ πεπονθέναι, καὶ εἰ <τὸ> κελεῦσαι.

Rhet. II. 23, 1398ª 3: ἄλλος [scil. τόπος] ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καθ' αὑτοὺς πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα· διαφέρει δὲ ὁ τρόπος, οἷον ἐν τῷ Τεύκρῳ· ᾧ ἐχρήσατο Ἰφικράτης πρὸς Ἀριστοφῶντα, ἐπερόμενος εἰ προδοίη ἂν τὰς ναῦς ἐπὶ χρήμασιν· οὐ φάσκοντος δέ, "εἶτα" εἶπεν "σὺ μὲν ὢν Ἀριστοφῶν οὐκ ἂν προδοίης, ἐγὼ δ' ὢν Ἰφικράτης;" δεῖ δ' ὑπάρχειν μᾶλλον ἂν δοκοῦντα ἀδικῆσαι ἐκεῖνον· εἰ δὲ μή, γελοῖον ἂν φανείη, εἰ πρὸς Ἀριστείδην κατηγοροῦντα τοῦτό τις εἴπειεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀπιστίαν τοῦ κατηγόρου.

There are only two persons in the situation here contemplated, the accuser (τὸν εἰπόντα l. 4), and the accused against

whom a certain charge is brought: we must surely read therefore *καθ' αὑτοῦ* instead of *καθ' αὑτούς* in the second line of the passage. And in the next line the statement still remains very contorted and unnatural even if we insert a *καὶ* before *Ἰφικράτης* to help out the construction: it can be made clear and intelligible however by a simple transposition—by our reading the passage thus: *ἄλλος ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καθ' αὑτοῦ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, οἷον ἐν τῷ Τεύκρῳ. διαφέρει δὲ ὁ τρόπος ᾧ ἐχρήσατο Ἰφικράτης κτέ.* As to the meaning, the *ἄλλος τόπος* with which the passage opens is the argument popularly known as a *tu quoque*; and of this there is a mode or variety (*τρόπος*), which I may perhaps call an inverted *tu quoque*, when the accused turns on his accuser and says, 'If you profess to be incapable of such an infamy yourself, I too must be deemed incapable also.' Clearly a retort of this sort is not always available; it implies that the accused is generally recognized as superior to his accuser in character and worth, so as to seem of the two the less likely to do the deed; it would be absurd accordingly in the mouth of an ordinary man as an answer to a charge brought by an Aristides. This is what Aristotle must really mean, but the sense is not quite clear in the text as it stands: I would amend it therefore by writing *ἄλλος* in lieu of *ἀλλὰ*, and so make the last clause run thus:—*εἰ πρὸς Ἀριστείδην κατηγοροῦντα τοῦτό τις εἴπειεν ἄλλος πρὸς ἀπιστίαν τοῦ κατηγόρου.*

Rhet. III. 1, 1404^{a} 32: *οὕτω καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀφείκασιν ὅσα παρὰ τὴν διάλεκτόν ἐστιν, οἷς δ' οἱ πρῶτον ἐκόσμουν, καὶ ἔτι νῦν οἱ τὰ ἑξάμετρα ποιοῦντες, ἀφείκασιν.*

Roemer brackets the *δ'* after *οἷς*, and also the second *ἀφείκασιν*—to the no small detriment of the sense, as it seems to me. Speaking of the language of tragedy Aristotle says that the poets have discarded (1) such of the old poetic words for things as have ceased to be part of the language of common life, and (2) the old ornamental epithets—not all *κόσμοι*, be it observed (comp. Poet. 22, 1459^{a} 14), but those that specially belong to the ancient epic. The distinction herein implied is a very obvious one, and it is too important to be sacrificed for mere reasons of style. The repetition of *ἀφείκασιν* is no

doubt an inelegance, but as such it is certainly not unique in Aristotle: compare the similar repetition of *τῶν ἡδέων* in Rhet. I. 11, 1371[b] 33, *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπεὶ ἡ παιδιὰ τῶν ἡδέων καὶ πᾶσα ἄνεσις, καὶ ὁ γέλως τῶν ἡδέων, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ γελοῖα ἡδέα εἶναι.*

Rhet. III. 10, 1411[a] 5: *καὶ Κηφισόδοτος σπουδάζοντος Χάρητος εὐθύνας δοῦναι περὶ τὸν Ὀλυνθιακὸν πόλεμον ἠγανάκτει, φάσκων εἰς πνῖγμα τὸν δῆμον ἔχοντα τὰς εὐθύνας πειρᾶσθαι δοῦναι.*

As quoted by Dionysius this passage has *ἀγαγόντα* instead of *ἔχοντα*. The true reading, I suspect, is *ἄγχοντα*, which by a simple process of corruption must have passed from *ΑΓχοντα* into *ΑΙχοντα* and then finally into *ἔχοντα*. From the Appendix to Susemihl's recently published edition of the Oeconomica I learn that *ἄγχοντα* was long ago suggested by Abresch.

Rhet. III. 10, 1411[a] 10: *καὶ Ἰφικράτης σπεισαμένων Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Ἐπίδαυρον καὶ τὴν παραλίαν ἠγανάκτει, φάσκων αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐφόδια τοῦ πολέμου παρῃρῆσθαι.*

We should perhaps read *παρῃτῆσθαι* instead of *παρῃρῆσθαι*.

I. BYWATER.

MISCELLANEA.

(1) Cicero N. D. III. 82: *Anaxarchum Democriteum a Cyprio tyranno excarnificatum accepimus, Zenonem Eleae in tormentis necatum.*

For the purposes of Cicero's statement it was hardly necessary to specify the place where Zeno suffered, but it was necessary, I think, to indicate which Zeno was meant. I would read therefore, with the insertion of an additional letter, *Zenonem Eleatem tormentis necari.* In Moser's edition *Eleatem* is said to be a various reading of the Basel edition of 1534—apparently as an alternative for *Eleae* merely.

(2) Dio Chrysost. or. 33, t. 2, p. 5 Reiske: Ἀρχίλοχος δ' *ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἦκε, τὸ ψέγειν.*

ἦκε is apparently a blunder for *ἦξε*, which in late authors is the common word in such cases as this: comp. Diog. Laert. VI. 87 *ἀΐξαι* [l. *ᾐξαι*] *ἐπὶ τὴν κυνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν*: X. 2 *ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἀΐξαι* [l. *ᾐξαι*]. So also in Diog. Laert. VI. 9 we must read *λαβὼν αὐτὸν καὶ θύλακον κενὸν πρὸς ἀλφιτόπωλιν ἦξε*—where the edd. have *ἦκε*.

(3) Diog. Laert. VII. 18: *ἔφασκε δὲ τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀσολοίκων λόγους καὶ ἀπηρτισμένους ὁμοίους εἶναι τῷ ἀργυρίῳ τῷ Ἀλεξανδρινῷ, εὐοφθάλμους μὲν καὶ περιγεγραμμένους καθὰ καὶ τὸ νόμισμα, οὐδὲν δὲ διὰ ταῦτα βελτίους· τοὺς δὲ τοὐναντίον ἀφωμοίου τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς τετραδράχμοις, εἰκῇ μὲν κεκομμένοις καὶ σολοίκως, καθέλκειν μέντοι πολλάκις τὰς κεκαλλιγραφημένας λέξεις.*

The sense of Zeno's remark is clear enough: there are two sorts of *λόγοι*, according as the style is elegant and the matter inferior, or vice versâ; and there is just the same contrast in

this respect between the silver coinage of Alexandria and that of Athens. The comparison of words with coins is pretty familiar to most of us, and is moreover the subject of a well-known note of Bentley's on Hor. A. P. 59. In the above passage I cannot see any reason for the view of V. Wilamowitz (Antigonos, p. 119) and Köhler (Rh. Mus. 39, p. 299) who condemn the word λέξεις at the end as an interpolation; nor can I see what is to be understood with τὰς κεκαλλιγραφημένας if the noun λέξεις is struck out. κεκαλλιγραφημέναι λέξεις means 'beautifully-turned phrases', in the same way as καλλιγραφία often means elegance of style or expression (comp. Lobeck on Phryn. p. 122). The real fault in the passage is one which has been already pointed out by M. Rossignol (Des services que peut rendre l'archéologie aux études classiques, p. 447): we must read κεκομμένους instead of κεκομμένοις—to which I would add σολοίκους instead of σολοίκως. Thus amended the two halves of the sentence correspond and balance one another clause by clause, εὐοφθάλμους μὲν καὶ περιγεγραμμένους (scil. λόγους) with εἰκῆ μὲν κεκομμένους καὶ σολοίκους, and οὐδὲν δὲ διὰ ταῦτα βελτίους with καθέλκειν μέντοι πολλάκις τὰς κεκαλλιγραφημένας λέξεις (= 'often outweighing, or of more weight than, any beautifully-turned phrases').

(4) Epicharmus (?) ap. Stob. fl. 69, 17 (p. 265 Lorenz):

εἰ δὲ καὶ φιλέξοδόν τε καὶ λάλον καὶ δαψιλῆ,
οὐ γυναῖχ' ἕξεις, διὰ βίου δ' ἀτυχίαν κοσμουμέναν.

Perhaps we should restore κομμουμέναν in place of κοσμουμέναν.

(5) Epicharmus ap. Apollon. de pron. p. 80 B Bekk. (p. 220 Lorenz): σύγκρισίν τε καὶ παραγωγὴν ἀνεδέξατο [scil. pronom. αὐτός], ὡς ἐν Ἀλκυόνι Ἐπίχαρμος· αὐτότερος αὐτῶν.

It seems to me that Epicharmus must have written either αὐτότεροι αὐτῶν, or αὐτότερος αὐτοῦ.

(6) Galenus in Hippocr. de medici off. 3, 30, t. 18. 2, p. 880 Kühn: καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ γεγραμμένον ἐν τύποις ὑπὸ τοῦ συγγράψαντος τὸ βιβλίον εἰς τοῦδε σαφῶς ἐγγραφόμενος μετήνεγκεν.

We must read εἰς τοὔδαφος ὁ ἐκγραφόμενος μετήνεγκεν:

comp. t. 17. 1, p. 909 *εἰς τοὔδαφος ὑπὸ τοῦ βιβλιογράφου μετατεθεῖσθαι.*

(7) Hesychius: *κίατο· ἐκινεῖτο.*

Lobeck (Rhem. 117 and 192) has a note on this gloss, to which M. Schmidt refers with apparent approval, notwithstanding the fact that Lobeck himself seems to have had an uneasy feeling that there was possibly something wrong in the text. I am inclined to think that the gloss has come down to us in a somewhat corrupted form, and that in its original form it ran thus:—

κείατο· ἔκειντο

—which became in the next stage:

κιατο· εκιντο

—through a confusion of I and EI which we see occasionally in Hesychius (e.g. in the gloss *στίοντες· ἱστάμενοι*, which is the duplicate of the gloss *στείοντες· ἱστάμενοι*). *εκιντο* was then corrected by the superscription of the true reading (thus: *εκιντο*), our present text representing a fusion of the error and the correction, just like what we have in another gloss, *ῥίψανεν· ἐρρίψανεν*, which originated no doubt in a misunderstanding of this:—

ῥιψαν· ἐρριψαν.

(8) Hesychius: *παρακοττεῖ· παραφρονεῖ.*

M. Schmidt thinks *παρακοττεῖ* should be written with a change of accent *παρακόττει*, and explained as a Cretan form of *παρακόπτει*. I prefer to keep the accent, and restore *παρακοπεῖ*. A verb *παρακοπεῖν*, from *παράκοπος*, like *συμμαχεῖν* from *σύμμαχος*, may very well have once existed, and as a rare word would claim a place in a glossary.

(9) Hesychius: *πῆμα· βλάβη. ἀναπημονή.*

I would read here by the insertion of a letter, *ἀν<ί>α· πημονή*—which looks as if in its primitive form the statement was an attempt to distinguish the senses of *πῆμα* and *πημονή*.

(10) Hesychius: πόλεμος· ὁ πάντα διοικῶν λόγος.

M. Schmidt says of this, 'suspectum'; but the doubt is groundless, as the gloss is simply an explanation (derived in the last resort from a Stoic source) of the word πόλεμος as it appears in a well-known fragment of Heraclitus (No. 44 ed. Oxon. where this passage of Hesychius should have been duly noted in the testimonia). Other Heraclitean glosses may be recognized in Hesychius under *αὐαίνεται*, *ἐδίζησα ἐμεωϋτόν*, *κυβερνᾷ* and *οἰακίζει*.

(11) Iuvenalis Sat. VII. 39:

et si dulcedine famae
succensus recites, Maculonis *commodat aedes.*

The inferior MSS. have here *Maculonus*, and the scholiast would seem to have had *maculosas*. It has occurred to me that the origin of this diversity may possibly have been an earlier reading *maculonsas*, which is practically the same as that of the scholiast—who it must be remembered had in VIII. 148 also the true reading (*mulio consul*) in the text he was annotating.

(12) Tacitus Germ. 16: *solent et supterraneos specus aperire eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus; quia rigorem frigorum eiusmodi locis molliunt, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur aut eo ipso fallunt quod quaerenda sunt.*

In lieu of *eiusmodi locis* Halm (ed. 3) has *eiusmodi loci* (the conjecture of Acidalius), and Holder *eiusmodi lacis*. What Tacitus wrote was, I suspect, *eiusmodi focis*. The fermenting mass on the top would serve as a sort of hot-bed; and I suppose that *focus*, at any rate with the qualifying epithet *eiusmodi*, might have some such sense as this, more especially as the derivative *focillare* simply means to 'warm', and *focus* itself was said to come from *fovere*, to 'keep warm'.

(13) Vitruvius X. 2, 8: *ita tres ductarii funes in machina religantur: deinde referuntur ad imam trocleam et traiciuntur ex interiore parte per eius orbiculos summos.*

This comes in a description of a complex arrangement of

pulleys, each with a triple series of wheels, designed to enable three sets of men to work together to raise a weight. Jocondus (ed. Ven. 1511), who gives a picture which makes the meaning of Vitruvius pretty clear and intelligible, saw the difficulty involved in the words *in machina*, but his reading, *in summo machinae*, though representing the sense required, is too great a departure from the traditional text. We may get the same sense however by writing *summa machina*—on the assumption that *in* originated in *fū*, and that the last two letters of *summa* were dropped through the proximity of the first two in *machina*, though another explanation is no doubt possible. A little further on we have 'machina ima' to describe the lower part of the machine under consideration.

I. BYWATER.

LUCAN III 558—561.

tunc in signifera residenti puppe magistro
Brutus ait: paterisne acies errare profundo,
artibus et certas pelagi? iam consere bellum:
Phocaicis medias rostris oppone carinas.

On these lines Professor Nettleship remarks in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. XVI. page 191, "The commentators offer no satisfactory explanation of *et certas*; nor do I see how the words are to be translated. Perhaps *et certas* is a corruption of *expertas*."

I should mention in the first place that Professor Nettleship reads *profundi* in line 559, I do not know with what authority, as I cannot find it given in any edition as a various reading, nor can I see how it is to be translated. Assuming *profundo* to be correct I must confess that the words *et certas*, so far from presenting an insuperable difficulty, appear to me, though I may be wrong, so simple that I did not consider it necessary to put a note on them in my edition. The ships of the Massilians were small and handy, those of the Romans large and unwieldy (cf. 553—557), so that the latter could not vie in manœuvring with the former: accordingly I would translate the words of Brutus thus: 'do you suffer the hosts to spread in loose order o'er the sea, and seek to vie with the foe in naval manœuvring? bring the fight to close quarters.'

For *artibus pelagi* compare *pelagi decus* in the last line of this book.

I cannot help having a suspicion that Professor Nettleship has been taking *certas* as an adjective instead of as a verb.

C. E. HASKINS.

THE MSS. OF IRENAEUS.

In a recent volume of essays[1] presented as a birthday offering to the veteran Professor, Hermann Reuter of Göttingen, by a group of his former pupils, nearly all of whom themselves hold chairs in different German Universities, the place of honour was deservedly given to an elaborate study by Dr Friedrich Loofs, now professor at Halle, on the MSS. of Irenaeus. Dr Loofs has a claim to the special attention of English scholars from his excellent essay on the *Origines* of our own Church (*De antiqua Britonum Scotorumque Ecclesia*, Leipzig, 1882). The latest instalment of Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte u. Untersuchungen* on Leontius of Byzantium is also his work and is characterised by the same thoroughness. And the essay on our present subject will abundantly maintain the reputation won by its predecessors: it is an admirable specimen of scientific investigation. Dr Loofs has really examined every corner in search of MSS. of Irenaeus, and has shown remarkable sagacity and skill in tracing the history not only of the known MSS. but of others, once known, which have been lost sight of.

The leading MSS. of Irenaeus are three: Cod. Claromontanus (*C*) hitherto most commonly set down as of the 10th or 11th century, but which Loofs, with Mabillon, believes to be of the 9th (at the latest about the year 900), in the library of the late Sir Thos. Phillipps at Cheltenham; Cod. Arundelianus (*A*) of the 12th or 13th century (Brit. Mus. Catalogue, 13th Loofs) in the British Museum; and Cod. Vossianus (*V*) which again Loofs is inclined to place earlier than the end of the 15th century to which Stieren assigns it, now at Leyden. It seems

[1] *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien Hermann Reuter zum Geburtstage gewidmet*, Leipzig (Hinrichs) 1888.

to me so far as I can judge that Loofs is probably right in his dating of *Cod. C*:[1] the main point would be the lingering elements of Merovingian writing which may be seen in Harvey's *facsimile*. The later history of the MS. is clear: its present number is 1669; in Meerman's catalogue it was 438; in the Claromontane library 436. Loofs goes a step farther, and would trace it back from the Jesuit College to the Abbey of Corbie, on the strength of a marked coincidence in the title with an 11th century catalogue of the Corbie library printed by Becker ('Herenei episcopi Ludunensis contra omnes hereses,' *sic* both in MS. and Catal.), coupled with the fact that some of the Claromontane MSS. are known to have come from Corbie. This conclusion seems to have higher claims to acceptance than the suggestion of Card. Pitra and M. Henri Omont, which has at first sight something to be said for it, that the MS. came from the Grande Chartreuse. Loofs himself suggests, but with due reserve, that the MS., which was there in the 14th century, is rather to be identified with *Cod. A*. *Cod. V* tells its own story: a note at the beginning, not mentioned by Stieren, says expressly that it was brought from England by Laurentius Burelli (Bureau), Provincial of the Carmelites, and presented to the Carmelite monastery at Paris in 1494. How much older the MS. is than this is perhaps less certain. Loofs would put it as far back as the end of the previous century. More important in its bearing upon the text of Irenaeus would be his contention that this MS. is the same as the 'Cod. Vet.' of Feuardent, which would otherwise have to be reckoned among the lost MSS. Grabe, Massuet and Stieren had all denied the identity, chiefly on the ground of certain differences of reading between the MS. as it is and apparent citations of it by Feuardent. Loofs however, after examining some 1180 readings, either bracketed in Feuardent's text or given in his notes or margin, only found about 30 that really differ, and these he thinks can be sufficiently accounted for in other ways. In such cases a certain margin may always be allowed for ambiguities or inexactnesses of statement on the part of an editor (compare

[1] Prof. Westwood, to whom I have shown the facsimile, also thinks that it points to the latter part of the 9th century.

Mr Robinson Ellis' preface to his recent edition of Orientius, p. 12). The following would be a small contribution to the list of divergences between Feuardent's MS. (*F*) and Cod. Voss. taken from the quotations from the New Testament scattered throughout the text of Irenaeus: III. x. 5 (Luke ii. 29) *dimittis V, dimittit F* (perhaps a misreading of Feuardent's); IV. vii. 1 (Luke ii. 32) *ad revelationem oculorum V* (an interesting reading to which there are other parallels), ad revelationem gentium *F* (according to Feuardent, but it is probable that he is only quoting the variant *ad* for *in* and that *gentium* is a tacit correction of his own); IV. xxxiii. 4 (cf. Luke xi. 21 ff. *detinebat eum* (*om. F*) *quem sub sua potestate* (*om. F*) *dericit* (dormitante Feuardentio? *quem* is peculiar to *F* and *V*, as *adversus hominem* for *adversus homines* just above); III. xii. 1 (Acts i. 16) *oportebat F, oportet V* (is not this too a correction of Feuardent's, mistaken for a reading of the MS.?). The identity of the two MSS. is clenched by the proofs which Loofs brings forward that Cod. Voss. was the very copy which was prepared for the printer, and from which the last five chapters of Book v. (missing in all other MSS.) were set up in type. The readings in which Feuardent's text differs from the MS. are found in the margin; contractions (gs dni $\overline{\chi pm}$) are written out in full; and two notes also written in the margin reappear in Feuardent's edition.

By a similar process of reasoning, which might perhaps have been even more convincing if Loofs had been able to examine the question with Cod. Voss. before him as he did in the comparison with Feuardent, another uncertain quantity 'Cod. Pass.' (Passeratii, *P*), the readings of which are noted by Massuet, is tracked to the same original. Here 173 readings were tested, of which 39 (many of them blunders of the scribe) were found to be peculiar to *P* and *V*, while only 18 differed. It seems enough to account for this difference when we remember that our knowledge of the codex (if codex it was, as seems probable) is two degrees removed from the original. All that we possess is Massuet's notes of readings entered in the margin of an Erasmian copy, so that there is a lengthened chain at any point of which error might creep in. Allowing for this, there seems to be considerable probability that *Cod. V* represents Feuar-

dent's 'Cod. Vet.', Passerat's MS., and the volume once possessed by Isaac Voss and now in the Leyden library, in one. For this simplification of the evidence we are indebted to Dr Loofs.

Besides these results in regard to the older MSS. Loofs has also investigated fully the history of the so-called 'Mercer MSS.' the originals of which have disappeared, but from which variants have been noted in a copy of the Erasmian edition of 1547, which came with the Voss collection to Leyden. There is no note in the book of any kind as to the source of these variants. The authority for the name 'Codd. Merceri' is a tradition traceable through Grabe to Dodwell and Voss. And there can be little doubt that Loofs is right in identifying their quondam owner with Josias (not Josuas, as Stieren wrongly has it after Harles-Fabricius) Mercerus or Mercier a French Protestant scholar who has left something of a name in the history of Philology, and who died at Paris in 1626. Mercier owned an estate in the South of France and seems to have spent there much of the latter part of his life. There would thus be some presumption that his MSS. belonged to that region; and there are indications which would connect with the same locality a group of four 15th century MSS. in the Vatican, brought to light and first described by Pitra in his *Analecta Sacra* tom. II. (Paris, 1884). One of these, Ottob. 1154, appears to be without doubt the Ottobonian MS. from which a few readings were cited by Massuet. Vatic. 188 was copied for Pope Nicolas V., and would therefore fall between the years 1447—1455. There is record of another MS. procured by the same Pope before his elevation from France, and he appears to have been in treaty for a third which was promised but, as it would seem, not sent from the [Grande] Chartreuse. There is reason to suspect that Vatic. 188 is the MS. a copy of which was sent to Erasmus and used by him as the foundation of his text. This and Ottob. 752 are nearly allied to but not identical with the Mercer MSS. The other two MSS., Ottob. 1154 and Vatic. 187, both belong to the same family, and are better representatives of it—Vatic. 187 probably the best.

These relations have been worked out by Loofs, who, besides his researches into the history of the MSS., has analysed (1) the evidence supplied by the ancient *Capitula* which he thinks go back to the very beginnings of the Latin version of Irenaeus, if not to the Greek itself; and (2) a list of 69 readings given by Pitra from the Vatican MSS. The result is to bring out the broad division which runs through the MSS. of Irenaeus: on the one hand *Codd. CV* the archetype of which probably came from the north of France or England, and on the other hand the great class headed by *Cod. A* but including also the Mercier and Vatican MSS., which had its home nearer the original centre from which all the MSS. must have travelled. The common archetype of all the extant MSS., which Dr Loofs calls B, he would assign to the early ages of the Church; the archetype (K) of the second family, *Codd. A Merc. Vatt.*, he would assign to the Caroline period; and that of the first family, *Codd. CV*, he would place somewhat earlier.

On the whole Dr Loofs is of opinion that the text of Irenaeus has been well preserved. It was not often copied. Gregory the Great tried in vain to procure a copy at Rome, and the preface to *Cod. A* describes the book as 'perrarus.' It seems therefore to be very possible that the extant MSS., though most of them late, were not separated by a great number of transcriptions from the original. As the practical upshot of his laborious researches, he thinks that a new edition of Irenaeus is not wanted: though Stieren only made a thorough examination of a single MS., *Cod. V*, and though the defects of Harvey's work are fully recognised, yet unless new MSS. of greater importance than the Roman were discovered (as Loofs thinks might possibly be the case somewhere in France or England), the new edition would not differ more from Harvey's than Harvey's does from Stieren's and so might be considered superfluous.

Before going further I must pause to pay a tribute of thanks to Dr Loofs for his essay. Within the limits which he has set for himself it is almost exhaustive: the work which has thus been done will not need doing again. This is due to the

combined thoroughness and caution with which each step in the enquiry has been conducted. Dr Loofs is careful to weigh his words; and he does not force his evidence into bearing more than it will really carry. His learning is everywhere balanced by sound and patient judgment. The only part of his conclusions which I should have much reason to call in question would be the last—and that perhaps not without qualification.

It may be well to explain in few words from what side I have approached the subject. Dr Loofs' researches have had a special and deep interest for me from the fact that they supplement most opportunely a work on which I am myself engaged. In trying to retrace the history of the Latin Version of the New Testament it was impossible not to see the importance of Irenaeus; and the wish lay near at hand to possess the evidence which Irenaeus supplied in a full and accurate form. My friend the Rev. Willmore Hooper, at that time Fellow of Durham University and now Rector of Shadforth, undertook at my suggestion to put together a *Novum Testamentum Interpretis Irenaei*, similar to the collection which Rönsch has made for Tertullian. Mr Hooper had collated for this purpose *Codd. ACV*, and through the liberality of the authorities of the Library at Leyden was allowed to have in his possession and to collate the precious volume containing the notes of the Mercier MSS.; he had also written out in full the quotations in Irenaeus, when his acceptance of a parish in which there was much to be done compelled him to relinquish a further share in the work. At this point too we were stopped by the difficulty of obtaining a collation of the Vatican MSS., and a hope which I had recently entertained of procuring this has not been fulfilled. We are therefore in some doubt as to whether it will be well to wait until we can complete our collations, or to go to press with those which we already have. I am satisfied from a few (unselected) data which I have received, as well as from the arguments of Dr Loofs, of the secondary character of the Roman MSS. I believe that they would contribute very little to the final constitution of the text; but in a case like this, where the authorities are not many and where there is at least a

certain degree of mutual independence in all of them, it is well to have the history of the text fully laid before one; and having gone so far towards completeness it seems a pity to stop short of it.

I have said that I should not expect the Roman MSS. to contribute much to a corrected text, but 'not much' is not therefore equivalent to 'nothing'. There is just one of the readings noticed by Dr Loofs which makes me doubt whether the phenomena can be quite so simple as he imagines. The genealogical table of the MSS. which he has drawn up meets by far the majority both of his data and of ours, but it does not meet all of them. In the last of Dr Loofs' readings, No. 69 (*Adv. Haer.* I. iii. 1 Stieren, I. i. 5 Harvey), the distribution of the evidence is very peculiar. All the MSS. are wrong: but just that form of the reading for which the authority seems strongest is most wrong. The true reading is *ex agonia*: for this both the representatives of the first family, *C* and *V*, have *lex aeona*; and in this, strange to say, the oldest member of the second family *A* joins them. Nearest to the truth are Vat. 187 with *ex aeona*, and one of the Mercier MSS. with the double reading *ey aeonia* and *ey aeona* (*sic*, see Stieren; Loofs, if I understand his notation, does not state the evidence quite correctly). The other readings are derivative, *ey eona* Ottob. 752, *ey ioniae* Vat. 188, *ex aeonum* Ottob. 1154 and Merc. II., *et aeonum* Erasmus: where we may remark by the way that the Erasmian text is much more closely allied to Ottob. 1154 than to Vat. 188, with which Dr Loofs would connect it. It would seem from this statement of the evidence that the principal corruption[1] must have come in through an archetype written in uncials: the rest were all either hopeless blunders (like *ey ioniae*) or else attempts to make some sort of Latinity out of the reading once corrupted (*ex aeonum*, for the Grecism of construction in which parallels could be found, though this is of course not a primitive reading but due to some scholar in the 14th century). But how do *AC V* come to be so wide of the mark, and Vat. 187, Merc. I., comparatively near it? On all the ordinary rules of genealogical evidence, where

[1] The change of *x* to *y* probably took place in the 11th century.

with two families of MSS. the oldest member of one family goes with the whole of the other family, the reading in question ought to be that of the common archetype of all the MSS. Either one of two things must have happened: either *A* must have been affected by mixture with a text similar to that of *CV*, after the point at which it parted from the other members of its group; or Merc. I. Vat. 187 must contain an element derived from a source independent of all existing MSS. This, if correct, is an important conclusion, and a relation which has been found to subsist once may subsist anywhere again. This reading alone will I think be enough to make it worth while to have Vat. 187 examined[1].

Before leaving the Vatican MSS. I should be glad to take this opportunity to mention the notation for the MSS. which we had been adopting: *A CV* as above; MM = the consent of the Mercier MSS.; M = one of the two MSS.; μ = the consent of the Mercier MSS. *e silentio*, i.e. where there is no note against the Erasmian text. As the letter *V* was already engaged, and the Vatican MSS. were all nearly of the same age, I proposed to take them simply in the order in which they stood in the catalogue and to designate them thus: *O* = Ottob. 752; *P* = Ottob. 1154; *Q* = Vat. 187; *R* = Vat. 188. As Ottob. 1154 was Massuet's original 'Cod. Ottobonianus' it might perhaps be well to transpose *O* and *P*; and we are not yet committed to the latter part of the notation. But I am inclined to think that it would be more convenient than O^1 O^2

[1] A third solution, which only occurred to me at the last moment, turns out to be the right one. In quoting the readings from Loofs and Harvey I had not noticed that Stieren gives the reading of the Arundel MS. not as *lex aeona* but as *ex aeone*. This was enough to raise the suspicion that Harvey had by mistake attributed to the Arundel MS. the reading of the Claromontane. Mr Maunde Thompson has been kind enough to refer to the MS. for me, and he finds that, as I expected, it has *ex aeona*. This of course falls in easily enough with the rest of the evidence, and the arguments raised on the assumption of the reading *lex aeona* fall to the ground. There is no necessity to suppose any mixture either between the MSS. of the second family and those of the first, or between MSS. of the second family and some unknown MS. outside. There is also less reason to look for a new element of importance in Vat. 187.

V^1 V^2 adopted by Loofs, which would make it difficult to express the differences between first and second hand.

The question of greatest moment arising out of the whole of this enquiry is that as to the present condition of the text of Irenaeus, and how far a new edition is necessary. A complete new edition would be a large and costly undertaking, and many no doubt will think that we can get on well enough with the passable text that we have. So far as the general text of the writer is concerned I doubt if it would be made very much more intelligible; but where we have to do with nice questions of wording, and with the premises on which to base an exact scientific conclusion, there it seems to me that the printed editions fall very far short of the proper standard and that some further revision is urgently needed. This is especially the case with the Biblical quotations which, as is well known, are the first part of any patristic text to suffer. They have fared badly in the current editions of Irenaeus. Stieren collated one of the MSS., *Cod. V*, on the whole with commendable completeness and accuracy, but he was haunted by the unfortunate idea of a thing called the Itala, which he took from the outside column in Sabatier, and to which he thought that the quotations in Irenaeus ought to be conformed: never realising—what Sabatier alone might have taught him—that in the Gospels there are often as many as 14 or 15 different kinds of Itala still extant, not to speak of others that are now lost, and that the reading in Irenaeus might have belonged to any one of these. Harvey was not hampered by this delusion, but he does not seem to have had any systematic opinion on the subject at all. His collation of the MSS. was wider than Stieren's, but it was very negligently made, and his statement of the various readings is most defective. A few examples will show how the case really stands.

There is a well-known Western reading ἐστιν for ἦν in John i. 4. Irenaeus had this reading. All the leading MSS. (we cannot speak for *Codd. Vatt.*) give *in eo vita est:* all the editors, I believe without an exception, *in ipso vita erat.* Harvey notes no variants at all; Stieren notes that Cod. Voss. has *eo* for *ipso*. The whole character of the text is falsified: nor is it merely an

error of judgment in the selection of a wrong reading, but the reader has not a word of warning that a single MS. reads differently. Another reading, where there is not quite the same conspiracy of silence though the MSS. are all ranged on one side and the editors on another, is Matt. xxiii. 34 *effugabitis de civitate in civitatem.* Harvey says nothing: Stieren notes that Codd. *ACMMV* are against him and read *fugabitis.* The common European reading is *persequemini*: *e* (Cod. Palatinus) has *fugietis*: unfortunately the verse does not seem to be quoted by any African writer. There is more excuse for the editors in the next reading of which I shall speak. In Matt. xxiii. 37 (quoted IV. xxxvii. 5) the editors, except Massuet, read *Quotiens volui congregare filios tuos, quemadmodum gallina pullos suos sub alas.* Massuet has *sub ascellas.* Harvey's note enables us to take his measure as an editor: '*ascellas*, CLERM.; ascillis, AR.; assellis, FEU. marg. and VOSS.; EDD. *alas.* But the words are identical' —as if the fact that the two words were identical, *ala* being merely a contraction of *axilla*, made it a matter of indifference which Irenaeus wrote! He goes on: 'the last word of the quotation *deserta* [*Quapropter relinquetur vobis domus vestra deserta*] is omitted in the CL. MS. [he might have added VOSS.] from its partial similarity to the preceding word.' *Vestra..deserta* is not such a very great amount of similarity; but the omission of course corresponds to an important variant in the Greek text of St Matthew. Harvey was an accomplished man, but a note like this shows the happy-go-lucky style of editing which was in vogue thirty years ago. Stieren says naively [*alas*] *sic scripsi cum plurimis editoribus,* and he then goes on to quote all the MSS., except the silence of Mercier's, against himself. There was however this excuse, which the editors do not make for themselves but which may be made for them: the same verse is quoted in IV. xxxvi. 8, and there *CVμ* have *alas* and *A* only *ascillas.* In spite of this preponderance of authority, I am by no means sure that *A* has not the right reading. If it has not there would be a parallel in the fact that whereas the first clause of the verse is quoted by Irenaeus 4 times, in three of these it is given with *colligere*, in the fourth with *congregare: colligere* is as a rule African, *congregare* European. The only trace that

I can find of *ascillas* or *ascellas* is in the anonymous writer *Ad Vigilium de Judaica incredulitate* c. i. (printed with the works of Cyprian, Appendix p. 120 ed. Hartel). Many an ancient reading like this, we may be sure, lies buried under the superincumbent mass of later tradition. I will give another example. Matt. xiii. 17 is quoted twice by Irenaeus (IV. xi. 1 and xxii. 1: in both places the editors print *Multi prophetae et justi cupierunt videre* &c. In the second place Stieren notes that Voss. reads *concupierunt*: he might have added Clarom., of which however he had no complete collation, only a few notes. Harvey professed to have collated this MS. but makes no sign of any kind. In the first passage MSS. as well as editors have *cupierunt*. Most fortunately however the context betrays them, and shows that both MSS. and editors are wrong. Irenaeus quotes the verse and then goes on: *Quemadmodum igitur concupierunt et audire et videre, nisi praescissent futurum ejus adventum?* clearly showing that he (i.e. the Latin translator) really wrote *concupierunt*, though it was altered early by the scribes. It has dropped out of other texts beside this of Irenaeus: it is lost in many MSS. of Cyprian *Testim.* II. 27, and it has disappeared from *e* (Cod. Palatinus) though it is retained in the older text of *k* (Cod. Bobiensis; cf. Old-Latin Texts II. pp. lxxi., lxxxi.). Matt. xxvi. 38 has had a rather similar history. This too is quoted twice by Irenaeus (I. viii. 2 and III. xxii. 2). In the second place there are several variants which are very imperfectly noted by the editors. I strongly suspect that what Irenaeus really wrote was *nec dixisset Quid tristis est anima mea* (representing Greek τί περίλυπος; compare the reading τί στενὴ in Matt. vii. 14). Harvey prints *quod*, for which he wrongly quotes *C*: the true reading of *C* as well as *V* is *quid*; which is also practically supported by *quia* in *A*. In the first place (I. viii. 2) all the MSS. and editors have *Quam tristis*, which Grabe ingeniously suggests stands for *quoniam*, through a wrong resolution of the contraction *qm*. Again I believe that Irenaeus wrote, neither *quoniam* nor *quam*, but *quid*, just as I have no manner of doubt that Cyprian wrote *Quid* in Matt. vii. 14 (so the best MSS. [*LVB*] of *Testim.* III. 6): in *Cod. A* of Cyprian and in *k* (Cod. Bobiensis) this has become *Quia*; in

Cypr. *Codd. WM* and in *a b* (Codd. Vercellensis and Veronensis) *Quam.* There is no recognition of either ὅτι or τί in the Greek variants of Matt. xxvi. 38; but it is certain that the translator of Irenaeus had one or other of these readings before him, and probably (in spite of the occurrence of *Adv. Haer.* I. viii. 2 in the Greek of Epiphanius without either of them) that ὅτι or τί formed part of the original Greek of Irenaeus, if not of the Greek text of the Gospels from which he is quoting: ὅτι would come in naturally enough to introduce the quotation, and τί quite as easily through the doubling of the initial π in περιλγπος. If the Latinity of *quid tristis* and *quid lata* seems curious, that is, I am afraid, no argument against its having had a place in the oldest form of the Latin Version: it is hardly more curious than τί πλατεῖα, τί στενή.

I will only give one more example, but that a rather wholesale one, of the omissions especially in Harvey, and at the same time of the nuggets of interesting matter that are to be found among the variants of the MSS. of the Latin Irenaeus. *Adv. Haer.* II. xxxii. 1 is not a long chapter, filling a little less than a page of Harvey's edition. On this Harvey has no note of any sort or kind: Stieren has several, in one of which he tells us that practically all his MSS. have the form *pejerare,* but that he prefers to read *perjurare,* and in another of which he endorses Heumann's very misplaced conjecture of *sique* for *si quo* (in the phrase *si quo minus*). Stieren however does note the traces of a usage which is perhaps more distinctly recognised by grammarians now than it was in his day, the tendency of the MSS. to omit the second *non* in the phrase *non solum non...sed et* or *sed ne quidem;* and he notices one very remarkable reading of *Codd. CV,* entirely ignored by Harvey, *in causa* for *sine caussa* as a rendering of εἰκῇ in the text which Irenaeus used of Matt. v. 22. We may parallel this with *in jussu*; and I cannot help suspecting that it was the original reading, though in another place where the verse is quoted (IV. xvi. 5) all the MSS. have *sine causa,* and though I have not been able to find any other instance of the phrase. It was not to be expected that Stieren should notice another remarkable reading, though an obvious scribe's blunder, in *Cod. C, pascitur*

for *irascitur* in the allusion to the same verse Matt. v. 22. I call this remarkable, not because there is anything out of the common in the confusion of the letters, but because of the strange coincidence at this very point and in this very word in the best extant MS. of the African text, Cod. Bobiensis (*k*). There is matter in this coincidence (which as we have seen is not the only one) to set us thinking, and to bring up the whole question not only of the version of Irenaeus and its relation to the various texts of the Old Latin New Testament, but of the origin of those texts themselves. I am not prepared to go into those large and very difficult questions at present, but I think I shall have said enough to show that the materials which have been collected as a preliminary step for settling and illustrating the text of Irenaeus have not been collected without a reason.

The importance of Irenaeus rises or falls according to the date at which we place his Latin translator: and I confess that it was a satisfaction to me to find from an incidental expression of Dr Loofs' (p. 60), that he too holds with Massuet and Lipsius that Tertullian was acquainted with the Latin Irenaeus when he wrote his treatise against the Valentinians (i.e. probably somewhere in the latter part of his life, in round figures 210–230 A.D.). I cannot claim to have made any profound study of this point, but the passages quoted by Massuet in the dissertation reprinted by Stieren (II. p. 230 f.) seem to me to give to this proposition at least a *prima facie* probability. I might express myself more confidently were it not for the weighty opinion of Dr Hort that 'the Greek text alone of Irenaeus was known to Tertullian, and that the true date of the translation is the fourth century' (*Introd.* p. 160). I am well aware of the difficulties which the other view raises as to the history of the Old Latin Bible; nor am I as yet in a position to say that those difficulties can be overcome. At the same time I am disposed to think that they are not insuperable, and if only they can be solved I am not at all sure that they will not be found to contain the key to the whole problem. Will not Dr Hort be willing to instruct us on this as on so many other topics by setting forth in full the reasons which have led him to the conclusion which I have just quoted? It is a charity to

the enquirer to have the avenues barred to him which lead nowhere. In the progress of science negative results are a gain as well as positive; and the disappointment of finding one gleam of light shut out might possibly be compensated by having light from an opposite quarter let in[1].

W. SANDAY.

[1] Just as the above reaches me in type my attention is called to an interesting article by Nöldechen in the current number of Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* (1888, Heft II. p. 207 ff.), which seeks to throw new light on the date and place at which Tertullian's treatise against the Valentinians was written. I hope to return to this subject and the relation of Tertullian to the Latin Irenaeus on a future occasion.

A BODLEIAN MS. OF PLINY'S LETTERS; —VIII. 8 § 3—18 § 11 AND AD TRAJ. 1—40.

In the Bodleian Library there is a volume containing all Pliny's letters, not correctly described in the Catalogue, and presenting several interesting problems in connection with the textual criticism of Pliny. The volume consists of three parts bound up together, (1) the edition of Beroaldus of 1498, containing all the letters then known of the IX Books, (2) the edition of Avantius of 1502, containing the latter portion of the letters to Trajan, (3) the letters omitted in these two editions inserted in MS. in their proper places; all these parts being annotated with marginal readings in an ancient handwriting.

In the following paper I shall try to prove (1) that the MS. portion is the oldest authority for the letters contained in it, having been copied either from the lost Parisian Codex, or more probably from a copy of that Codex; (2) that the marginal corrections are also taken from a copy of the original MS. made by Giovanni Giocondo, the scholar and architect; (3) that this edition is the copy of Aldus Manutius Pius himself, and that from it the first proof of his first edition of 1508 was actually printed.

Before seeking actually to establish these points, it will be as well briefly to summarise the chief facts relating to the authorities for the text of Pliny, as set forth by Keil in his well-known critical edition of 1870.

The MSS. of Pliny may be divided into four families: (1) those containing the first four books and six letters of Book V, and represented by the Codex Florentinus (F); (2) those, dating mostly from the 15th century, which contain eight books, the eighth being omitted, and Book IX—minus ep. 16—inscribed as Book VIII. This family is best represented by the Codex Dresdensis (D) which has in the margin variant readings from

family (1); (3) those containing nine books, of which the Codex Mediceus (M) is the most nearly complete representative, as it wants only the last 14½ letters of Book IX from 26 § 8 to the end. This Codex which also contained the Annals of Tacitus I—VI was not discovered and brought to Italy till 1508, and was not made use of for any edition of Pliny before the 2nd edition of Catanæus in 1518; (4) a Codex discovered in Paris by Giocondo or Jucundus, containing the IX books complete and in their proper order, and also all the Pliny-Trajan letters. This Codex was made use of at second-hand by Avantius for a portion of the Pliny-Trajan letters in 1502: it was expressly cited by Budæus in his "Annotationes in Pandectas" first published in 1508; and it was the authority on which Aldus professedly bases his first edition of the "Libri Decem" in 1508. Of the printed editions it will suffice to mention (1) the editio princeps of 1471 based almost entirely upon D, and omitting Book VIII and ep. 16 of IX; (2) an editio Romana of 1474 which was based on some unknown MS. of the same family as M, and contained (under the title of Book IX) a portion of VIII, the part omitted being from 8 § 3 to 18 § 11. (3) This edition was followed in 1490 by that of Pomponius Lætus containing exactly the same letters, but based on a more careful collation of the MS. (4) In 1498 the edition of Beroaldus (contained in the Bodleian copy) was published, following generally the previous edition, and, like it, omitting VIII 8 § 3—18 § 11 and IX 16: book IX being still placed as VIII.

So far the Pliny-Trajan letters were entirely unknown. The Parisian Codex however which contained them was, as already mentioned, discovered by Jucundus in the first years of the 16th century, and in 1512 Hieronymus Avantius of Verona published "C. Plinii Junioris ad Trajanum Epistole 46, nuper reperte cum ejusdem responsis." These 46 letters, the numbering of which is made up by including Trajan's answers under Pliny's letters, and by counting (in ep. 58, Keil) the letters of Domitian and the edict of Nerva, are those numbered 41—121 in Keil. The first letter (Keil 41—2) is marked XXVII, and the last (Keil 120—1) LXXIII. Avantius had not himself seen the original MS. but only had a mutilated copy which was

brought to him from France by one Petrus Leander, as he says in his dedicatory letter to Cardinal Bembo, "Petri Leandri industria ex Gallia Plinii junioris ad Trajanum epistolas, licet mancas depravatasque habuimus." The copy was either carelessly made by Leander, who seems to have been ignorant of Greek, or was carelessly edited by Avantius, whose edition of Sallust's Catiline for the Aldine Press was not conspicuous for its correctness. The same letters were published again by Beroaldus eight months later in the same year, and in the 1st edition of Catanæus in 1506, but their corrections of Avantius were in the case of Beroaldus certainly, in that of Catanæus probably, due to their own conjectures and not to any fresh collation of the MS. In 1508 Aldus for the first time published a complete edition of the letters, containing those hitherto missing from Book VIII, ep. 16 of IX and the first 26 (1—40 Keil) of the Pliny-Trajan correspondence. This he expressly states that he was enabled to do owing to the help afforded him by Aloisius Mocenigo, Venetian ambassador in Paris, to whom he dedicates the edition, and by Jucundus Veronensis. The latter had sent or brought him a copy of the letters taken from the Parisian Codex, "Secundi epistolas ab eo ipso exemplari a se descriptas in Gallia diligenter ut facit omnia"—while the former two years later, on his return from France, brought him the Codex itself: "has Plinii epistolas in Italiam reportasti in membrana scriptas atque adeo diversis a nostris characteribus ut, nisi quis diu assueverit, non queat legere..... mihi que dedisti ut excusum publicarem." What became of the Codex after this is unknown: it was never used by any later editor, though it seems to be referred to by Catanæus in his 2nd edition of 1518, who says that there were shown to him at Rome some "epistolæ descriptæ de vetustissimo codice Germanico plures ad Trajanum et insuper quædam ejusdem Plinii ad amicos." The fact however that Catanæus follows in almost every particular the 1st Aldine edition makes one suspect that this was the copy he alludes to. At any rate the MS. has disappeared, and hitherto the Aldine edition has been regarded as the earliest authority for VIII 8 § 3—18 § 11 and ad Traj. 1—40 (Keil).

In what way Aldus used the copy received from Jucundus, or the Codex itself, has hitherto been uncertain. Keil believes that in respect to the previously published letters, he merely followed the earlier editions, correcting them with conjectures of his own, and that in regard to the hitherto unpublished letters of Pliny and Trajan, the Codex is less accurately consulted by him than it had been by Avantius in the case of the '46 epistole' published by him. An examination of the Bodleian copy will possibly put us in a position to decide with somewhat greater certainty on these points.

To this examination we now proceed. The two first and obvious points are, as has been said, (1) that the two editions of Avantius and Beroaldus have been bound together and (2) that the missing letters in each, i.e. in Beroaldus VIII 8 § 3—18 § 11 and in Avantius 1—26, have been inserted in MS. in Caroline minuscules in their proper place, and bound up with the rest, thus making a complete edition of the letters. To be quite accurate however, I should say that of the Pliny-Trajan letters 4—26 are thus inserted, since unfortunately the first page on which 1—3 were contained has been cut out, and accordingly the first MS. letter actually present is Ep. 4. On noticing this MS. addition, I at first supposed that the owner of the two editions who had had them bound together had, to make his edition complete, copied in the missing letters from some later edition, and as I was working at the Pliny-Trajan letters, curiosity led me to try to find out what edition he had copied. In doing this I was almost immediately struck with some very strange readings. In several cases the MS. (which I shall henceforth call B) agreed with the first Aldine edition in readings which have never been repeated in any later edition, and what was still more striking, it in several cases differed not only from the Aldine, *but from all later editions.* Beginning to suspect that B might be older than the Aldine edition, I examined the book with fresh care and was struck by the following points: (1) The paper on which the MS. is written, though not identical in make, is similar to that of the printed edition and to all appearance equally old, (2) the marginal corrections, already alluded to, are in a handwriting which Mr

Madan and Mr Macray of the Bodleian Library both pronounce to be Italian, and as old as the early part of the 16th century. (3) At the bottom of the last page of the edition of Avantius the following words are written in the same hand—

Hæ Plinii junioris epistolæ ex vetustissimo exemplari Parisiensi et restitutæ et emendatæ sunt opera et industria Ioannis Jucundi præstantissimi architecti, hominis imprimis antiquarii.

(4) It appears from the fly-leaf at the beginning that the book had belonged to Thomas Hearne who had written at the bottom of the page:—"This edition (collated with a MS.) I bought in an Auction in the year 1708 in Oxon. See what I have said of it in my Pref. to Ed. Oxon. It is as good, if not better, than any MS. that I have seen, and is wonderful rare. The 10th book was printed from the only MS. then in the world, which MS. is since lost, and this edition is the only authority for the later editions of the 10th book." Hearne had however, strange as it may seem, given no special attention to the MS. portion of his purchase, as he makes no mention of it either in the Preface to his edition, or in his Letters or Diaries.

In dealing with the questions raised by this edition with its MS. and marginal notes, it will be convenient to take the MS. portions first, in order to establish my first point, and to consider them separately, for whereas in the case of the Pliny-Trajan letters the Aldine ed. is the only authority, in the case of the inserted letters in Book VIII, there is not only the Aldine ed. but also the Medicean Codex with which to compare them.

To take the Pliny-Trajan letters first (IV—XXVI).

In the first place the letters are numbered in conformity with the edition of Avantius, the last being numbered XXVI and the first in Avantius XXVII. These numbers are not found either in the editions of Catanæus or Aldus, but from the fact that the mutilated copy of Leander begins with XXVII, it seems probable that the numbers were taken from the Codex.

In Ep. IV (4 § 2 Keil) B has "quia mater Romani liberalitatem sestertii quadragies &c.," quadringenties being added in the margin, also by the scribe, but deleted. The magni-

tude of the sum, if quadringenties, the reading of Aldus, is adopted, has always been a difficulty, but all attempts to meet the difficulty have hitherto been mere conjecture. It should be added that Budæus (de Asse III. p. 23), who, as we shall presently see, had used the Codex Parisiensis discovered by Jucundus, also reads 'quadragies.'

In the same Ep., B has "non sine magna fiducia subsigno. Adverte fidem pro moribus Romani mei &c." I only cite this unintelligible reading as a proof that the MS. was copied not from a printed edition, but from another MS. Aldus in his 1st ed. reads "Adit te fidem," and in his 2nd "apud te fidem."

In Ep. VI (6 § 2 Keil) B has "etsi eum a peregrina manumissum," while the commentator in the margin (whom we will call J) has 'esse eum.' This is probably the original reading, which Aldus has changed to "eum scilicet."

In Ep. VII (8 § 3 Keil) B has "Kalendis Septembribus," whereas Aldus reads less correctly 'Kal. Septembris.' G. H. Schaeffer was the first to emend to "Kal. Septembribus," which is almost certainly the right reading.

In Ep. VIII (10 § 1 Keil) B has "secundum institutiones principum," instead of 'institutionem' with Aldus. The plur. is justified by the plur. 'principum' in the sense of "the policy successively adopted by the various emperors;" though the unwillingness of Aldus to accept it was not unnatural.

In the same Ep., B has "ecce autem" instead of 'esse autem,' another proof that it was copied, here carelessly, from a MS. The Greek words *νομοῦ Μεμφύτου*, an incorrect form followed by Aldus, are omitted by the scribe, but inserted in the blank space by J.

In Ep. IX (11 § 2 Keil) B has "Panchay: æ: ac Soteridi" where Aldus, no doubt rightly, reads "Panchariæ Soteridi." The mistake however is clearly due to a misunderstanding of the MS. copied.

In Ep. XIII (15 Keil) the Greek words '*ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν*' are inserted by J.

In Ep. XIV (17 B § 5 Keil) there is a much more important point. B reads "ita certe prospicio ex ratione Prusensium

quam cum maxime tracto." This, the undoubtedly correct reading, does not occur in any printed edition till that of Cortius in 1734, who, on the suggestion of Perizonius, substitutes it for the incorrect "cum Maximo" of Aldus and all intermediate editions.

In Trajan's answer (18 § 1 Keil) B reads "cuperem...simile tibi iter ab Epheso et navigationi fuisset quam &c." where Aldus unintelligibly reads "ut navigationi." 'Et' is undoubtedly a mistaken copy of the original reading 'ei' which Catanæus alone adopted in 1518.

In Ep. XVII (23 § 1 Keil) there is a very difficult passage to which, I believe, B offers the key. Aldus reads "Prusenses, domine, balineum habent et sordidum et vetus. Id itaque indulgentia tua restituere desiderant. Ego tamen æstimans novum fieri debere, videris mihi desiderio eorum indulgere posse." Keil retains this with a lacuna after "æstimans," remarking in a note "lacuna quam indicavi pretium quanti balineum restituendum Plinius æstimabat, cum verbo finito ex quo reliqua pendebant, excidisse videtur." B reads after 'et sordidum et vetus,' "Itaque tamen æstimamus novum fieri quod &c." This, I think, proves that the clause in Aldus "id itaque—desiderant," is his own interpolation. I should propose to restore from the reading of B as follows: "Prusenses balineum habent et sordidum et vetus, idque tam inutile æstimant ut debeat novum fieri quod &c.," taking desiderio as abl. instead of dative.

In Ep. XXI (29 § 2 Keil) B reads "ut iam dixerant sacramento, ita nondum distributi in numeros erant," where Aldus omits 'ita' and adds 'militari.' 'Ita' is evidently wanted but previous to Keil's edition has never been inserted.

In Ep. XXIV (37 § 1 Keil) B reads "qui imperfectus adhuc emissum destructus etiam est." What the real reading was which underlies 'emissum,' I cannot conjecture, but it was evidently not taken from any printed edition. Aldus has "adhuc relictus ac etiam destructus est."

In the same Ep. B has with Aldus "aliqua pars...testaceo opere agenda erit," with 'peragenda' also in the scribe's hand in the margin. No editor has ever thrown any doubt upon

'agenda,' but surely 'peragenda' is a far more satisfactory reading.

In Ep. XXVI (39 § 1 Keil) B agrees with Aldus in reading "rimis descendit et hiat," but J has 'desedit' in the margin, a much more suitable word.

In the same Ep., B reads "ex ea pecunia quam buleutæ addit beneficio tuo aut jam intulerunt aut &c." Aldus or his printer mistaking 'buleutæ' for the subject of 'addit' altered the latter to 'addunt'; but the correct reading is certainly 'additi'—an emendation first suggested by Casaubon and now confirmed.

In Trajan's reply (40 § 1 Keil) Aldus reads "tunc autem a privatis exigi opera tibi curæ sit, cum theatrum factum erit." B reads "opera ctum theatrum &c." The original reading may have been "exigi opera tempus cum" or as Prof. Nettleship suggests "exigi opera censeo cum &c."

The other differences between B and Aldus are trifling, in some cases being mere differences in spelling, in others manifest slips of the scribe corrected by Aldus, while in most cases the marginal corrections of J are identical with the Aldine readings.

When we turn to the MS. of Book VIII, we have not only the Aldine ed. with which to compare them, but also the Medicean Codex, which, as we have seen, Aldus could not have used. Moreover five or six extracts from these letters are contained in the "Annotationes in Pandectas" of Budæus, who expressly states that his authority is the Parisian Codex which was afterwards handed to Aldus. Speaking of VIII 10 he says "Verum hæc epistola et aliæ non paucæ in codicibus impressis non leguntur; nos integrum ferme Plinium habemus primum apud Parisios repertum opere Jucundi sacerdotis; hominis antiquarii, Architectique famigerati." Now in collating B with Aldus, I find that the former with the marginal readings of J differs from the latter in only 21 cases. Of these four are mere errors of the scribe, as e.g. "dividissent jam jam unius" for 'dividi sententiam unius'; 'omnium' for 'amnium'; 'supetur' for 'superetur'; 'solo' for 'soleo': in 12, B and J are confirmed by M: in 2, both by M and by Budæus, and in 3, by Budæus

alone. The probability therefore is very great that in all the 17 cases the Aldine readings are due to conjecture or interpolation—a confirmation and a striking one of the conclusion to which the other MS. letters also point. I add the 17 cases in question in a tabulated form.

	B	*Ald.*	*M*	*Bud.*
9 § 1	secedere	sedere	secedere	
10 § 3	videor a meo	video a meo	videor meo	videor a meo
14 § 2	ignorantiam	ignorationem	ignorantiam	ignorantiam
14 § 13	quæ solvit	quæ absolverit		quæ solvit
14 § 17	periment	premant	perimant	periment
14 § 24	debuerim, quemadmodum.	debuerim an abstinere, quemadmodum.	debuerim, quemadmodum.	debuerim, quemadmodum.
15 § 2	*Where Aldus inserts a clause "quæ si scabræ bibulæve sint, aut non scribendum," which is omitted both in B and M.*			
17 § 3	ejecit	evexit	ejecit	
17 § 4	viderunt quos	viderunt ii quos	viderunt quos	
17 § 4	deprehendit	non deprehendit	deprehendit	
17 § 5	ne illa quidem malo	ne illa quidem loca malo	ut illa quidem mala	
18 § 2	magis inexpectata	magis quoniam inexpectata	magis expectata	
18 § 3	temporum est	temporum prudentia est	temporum est	
18 § 4	filiam	ut filiam	filiam	
18 § 11	nam sunt omnes fabulæ Tullus	nam sunt venales tabulæ Tulli	nam sunt omnes fabulæ Tullus	
18 § 11	ne gravare	ne gravare scribere	ne gravare	

It should be added that the missing letter IX 16 which was not published before Aldus is inserted at the bottom of the page by J, differing from the Aldine reading in only 2 points: (1) "ex isto genere venandi" for "ex isto copiosissimo genere venandi," (2) "tibi cui exigenti" for "tibi quos exigenti."

From the comparison of B with Aldus, both in the case of Book VIII and of the Pliny-Trajan letters, my first point is, I think, established. In the former, in 17 out of 21 differences it is proved by the independent witness of M and Budæus to be nearer to the original readings, while the mention of Jucundus by Budæus, and the coincidence of his readings in 5 cases, bear out the similar mention of that scholar at the end of the Bodleian copy. In the former also there are at least 10 some-

what important cases in which B shows traces of an earlier reading, while in many others the discrepancies can be much better explained by supposing that B was copied from a previous MS. than from any printed edition.

My second point—that the marginal readings are due to Jucundus—receives a certain prima facie probability from the establishment of the first, especially when taken together with the triple mention of Jucundus by Budæus, by Aldus, and in the Bodleian copy, but the evidence for it in detail must depend mainly on a consideration of the printed portions of the edition, since in the MS. parts there are no more than 15 marginal readings altogether, of which only 5 or 6 are of any importance.

The first portion of the book consists, as has been already stated, of the ed. of Beroaldus of 1498. Throughout these IX Books there are 155 variant readings inserted by J in the margin. Of these it is a very striking fact that in 139 cases the readings of J appear in Aldus. In 46 of these, J and Aldus agree against M, D and the previously printed editions, while in 80 of them, J, M and Aldus all agree. Thus of 155 readings there are only 16 which do not appear in Aldus, and in regard to these we may note (1) that in 5, J is confirmed by M, (2) that in 5 other cases, Aldus merely follows the printed editions, (3) that in 3 others, his readings are derived from these editions by altering a single letter, and (4) that in only one case is his reading distinctly right and in agreement with M.

A consideration of the marginal readings to Avantius leads to not dissimilar results. Out of 52 readings Aldus agrees with 34. Of the 18 other cases, 5 are clearly conjectures on the part of Aldus; in 5, he merely repeats Avantius; in 3, he makes what are clearly accidental errors; in 3, he gets the right reading by a simple and obvious correction of Avantius, while 2 cases are doubtful.

There are 5 cases of some importance in which J, though differing from Aldus, is undoubtedly right and confirms later conjectures.

In Ep. LII (78 § 2 Keil) Avantius reads "Plures enim et quanto infirmiores erunt idem fiduciam diligentiæ habeo,"—J inserts 'petent' in the margin after 'idem,' a conjecture made

by Beroaldus and accepted by Keil. Aldus interpolates several words and omits 'idem' altogether.

In Ep. LXI (96 § 10 Keil) Avantius reads "passumque venire victimarum," while J has 'pastum'—also the conjecture of Beroaldus—Aldus alters to "passim que venire victimas."

In Ep. LXIV (102 Keil) Avantius reads "diem quæ in tutela generis humani...translata est," J changes to "diem quo in te tutela, &c." afterwards conjectured by J. F. Gronovius, while Aldus reads "diem in quem tutela."

In Ep. LXX (114 § 1 Keil) Avantius reads "dum neque merum civitatum quæ sunt in Bithynia," which J alters to "dum ne quem earum"—a reading obviously right, but not adopted earlier than Orelli. Aldus interpolates an entirely different sentence to suit his mistaken interpretation of the passage.

In Ep. LXXI (116 § 2 Keil) Avantius and Aldus read "concedendum jussi invitationes"; emended by Orelli into "concedendas esse invitationes," by Keil into "concedendum jus invitationis." J, confirmed by Budæus, has "concedendum jussisti invitationes," which, though it involves the change of the following "ita" into "at," seems the best reading.

This consideration of the marginal readings, an overwhelming majority of which either agree with Aldus or are nearer to the original reading, compared on the one hand with the statement of Aldus that he was indebted to a copy of the MS. received from Jucundus, and on the other with the similar statement made by the marginal commentator, "hæ epistolæ restitutæ et emendatæ sunt opera et industria Ioannis Jucundi," is, I think, sufficient to establish my second point that the marginal readings are due to the collation of the original codex by Jucundus.

My third point also—that this copy belonged to Aldus himself—has, I venture to think, been made extremely probable from what has been already said, and will receive greatly increased confirmation from the following coincidences—one isolated and special, but extremely curious and striking, the others running through the whole edition: (1) a curious misprint in Aldus, otherwise inexplicable, receives immediate and

convincing explanation by turning to a marginal reading of J, and supposing that the Bodleian copy was before the printer of the Aldine edition. In VIII 6 § 10 Aldus reads "cui mulla re fas putaret repugnare." J. has in the margin

in
cui nvlla re fas
putaret repugna
re

where the 'in' inserted above the 'n' of 'nulla' without dot to the i or 'caret' mark, appears to be a correction of 'm' for 'n,' and was so understood by the printer. (2) The printed text both of Beroaldus and Avantius is throughout corrected in regard (α) to punctuation, (β) to errors in spelling, (γ) to accents in Greek words and indeed to correction of Greek quotations generally, (δ) to insertion or omission of brackets—these alterations being to all appearance directions to the printer, and as a matter of fact agreeing in most cases with the Aldine edition. On these coincidences then—not alone, though they would be hard to explain on any other hypothesis,—but taken in conjunction with all that has been said before, I base my third point.

I suppose therefore (1) that Aldus received, as he expressly states, a copy of the Codex from Jucundus, (2) that previously to the issue of his edition he formed a complete copy of the Letters by joining the editions of Beroaldus and Avantius and causing the missing letters to be copied by a scribe from the copy of Jucundus, adding in the printed portions corrected readings, also from the same copy, and correcting, in a few cases only, the scribe's MS. from the same source, (3) that he alludes to this procedure in the statement that the letters have been restored and emended by the industry of Jucundus, (4) that this copy was before the printer for the first proof of the Aldine edition. To this theory it makes no difference whether the actual handwriting is that of Aldus, as I have supposed, or of one of his collaborateurs, nor is it a serious objection that the Aldine edition differs in a considerable number of cases from the Bodleian copy, for (5) I suppose that this copy represents the first proof only, being the work of Jucundus, while the Aldine

edition itself has (*α*) a number of conjectures and interpolations made by Aldus himself after the first proof, and (*β*) possibly some corrections from the original Codex itself which, as Aldus states, was brought to him by Mocenigo two years after he had received the copy from Jucundus.

If these suppositions are correct, it will be necessary to modify somewhat Keil's judgment of the Aldine edition, (1) that in regard to the previously published letters he merely followed earlier editions, correcting them with conjectures of his own. That he did correct from his own conjectures we have seen in some cases, but in a far larger number he corrected them, not indeed direct from the Codex, but from Jucundus' copy of the Codex. (2) That in regard to the hitherto unpublished letters of Pliny and Trajan, the Codex was less accurately consulted by him than it had been by Avantius in his "46 Epistole." But apart from differences in spelling and slips of B corrected by Aldus, there are only 18 variations between B and J (assumed to represent the copy of Jucundus) and the Aldine edition. Even if we assume all these cases to be due to the arbitrary procedure of Aldus, and we must do so in some of them, still, remembering that Avantius has to be corrected by J in 35 cases, and is corrected by Aldus in a good many more, we must confess that Epp. 1—26 in Aldus are much nearer to the original MS. than 27—73 are in Avantius. The general fidelity of Jucundus to the Codex, assuming him to be the original of J, is sufficiently proved by the confirmation of his readings in a very large number of cases by M, and in a few both by M and Budæus.

This account of the marginal readings in the Bodleian copy would not be complete without the mention of 4 cases where J agrees with the 1st edition of Catanæus (1506) against all other MSS. or editions.

In I. 5 § 15 both read *ἀκαταπάλαιστον* where Aldus has *δυσκαθαίρετον*, M *δυσκαθέρετον*, and Beroaldus *ἀκαθαίρετον*.

In VI. 31 § 12 both have *κατασ τήσατε* where Aldus has *ἐπί-στασθε*, M *ἐπιστήσατε*, and D *ἐνιστήσατε*.

In VII. 12 § 2 both have *ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἀεὶ ἴσχνοι* where Aldus and Beroaldus have *ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ εὔζηλοι*, while M omits.

In ad Traj. 86 (Keil) both have in correction of a difficult and corrupt passage "Fabium Valentem valde probo," where Avantius has "quam ea quæ speret," and Aldus "quem abunde ea quæ speret."

I do not attempt here to solve the problems raised by these coincidences; only remarking that Catanæus cannot have seen the Parisian Codex or its copy made by Jucundus, either for the IX books or for the Pliny-Trajan letters, or he would have inserted the two sets of missing letters. It is however possible, that he had for the latter the copy of Leander which Avantius used. He certainly says "quia uno tantum exemplari, nec illo admodum vetusto adjuti fuimus." Could he have got the 4th reading referred to from this copy, while Jucundus got it from the Codex? But in that case why does Aldus neglect it, and why does Catanæus give it up in his 2nd edition? These points however, relating to Catanæus, though not without both difficulty and interest, do not in any way affect the conclusions already drawn as to the origin and importance of the Bodleian copy, and I therefore leave them without further discussion.

E. G. HARDY.

HOMERICA.

I

Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τέχνης ἐπιβήσομαι, ἥτις ἀρίστη,
βουκολέειν ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ διαμπερές· οὐδὲ θεοῖσιν
νῶϊ μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀδώρητοι καὶ ἄλιστοι
αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένοντες ἀνέξομεθ', ὡς σὺ κελεύεις
βέλτερον, ἤματα πάντα μετ' ἀθανάτοις ἀρίζειν
πλούσιον, ἀφνειόν, πολυληΐον, ἢ κατὰ δῶμα
ἄντρῳ ἐν ἠερόεντι θαασσέμεν.

Hymn to Hermes, 166—72.

The common reading in l. 168 is *ἄπαστοι*, for which Hermann read *ἄπυστοι*, ignobiles. Codd. Parr. AC give *απλιστοι*, Fl. *ἀ$_{\pi\alpha}^{\lambda\iota}$στοι*, whence Schneidewin conjectured *ἄλιστοι*, a reading now found in E (Modena).

Now there is a serious objection to *ἄλιστοι*, inasmuch as on the analogy of its congener *πολύλλιστος* (h. Ap. 347 *νηοῖσι πολυλλίστοισι*, h. Dem. 28 *νηῷ πολυλλίστῳ*, Il. VIII. 488 *τρίλλιστος*) we ought to find *ἄλλιστοι*. The double λλ of the augmented parts of *λίσσομαι* found in Homer (except in two passages where Aristarchus read the form *λίσσετο*) tends in the same direction. Again there is plainly an antithesis intended between *ἀδώρητοι καὶ ἄλιστοι*, and *πλούσιον, ἀφνειόν, πολυληΐον*. Whilst *πλούσιον, ἀφνειόν* correspond very well to *ἀδώρητοι*, we at once feel that *ἄλιστοι* is not the proper counterpart of *πολυληΐον*. The natural antithesis would be *ἀλήϊος*, which we find side by side with *ἀκτήμων*, Il. IX. 125, as opposed to *πολυλήιος* (*ναῖε πολυκτήμων πολυλήϊος*, Il. V. 613). Can *ἀλήϊοι* have been the real reading here? Copyists not perceiving that it was scanned as a trisyllable like *δήϊος* made

various attempts to doctor the passage. I have shown in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (vi. 328, 329) that πολυλήϊος and ἀλήϊος are compounded of λεία, ληίη, cattle, not λήϊον, standing corn.

II

Αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων
Ὀγχηστὸν δ' ἀφίκανε κιών, πολυήρατον ἄλσος
ἁγνὸν ἐρισφαράγου Γαιηόχου· ἔνθα γέροντα
*κνώδαλον εὗρε νέμοντα παρὲξ ὁδοῦ ἕρκος ἀλωῆς.

Hymn to Hermes, 185—188.

So Baumeister gives l. 188 with the brief remark "corruptus." The common text reads δέμοντα, by whose suggestion I know not. Gemoll reads κνωδάλῳ. I would read it as

ἔνθα γέροντα
νωδαλὸν εὗρε δέμοντα παρὲξ ὁδοῦ ἕρκος ἀλωῆς.

νωδαλὸς (= toothless) : νωδὸς = edentulus : edens. Cf. νωδογέρων, Comic. Anonym. 311, 6. For the termination -αλος used in a contemptuous sense in this class of epithet cf. νύστ̣αλον γερόντιον, Comic. Anonym. 43, and τροχαλός, Hesiod Op. 516, τροχαλὸν δὲ γέροντα τίθησι.

III

Τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱὸς
χωόμενον περὶ βουσὶν ἑκήβολον Ἀπόλλωνα,
σπάργαν' ἔσω κατέδυνε θυήεντ'· ἠΰτε πολλὴν
πρέμνων ἀνθρακιὴν οὔλη σποδὸς ἀμφικαλύπτει
ὣς Ἑρμῆς Ἐκάεργον ἰδὼν ἀλέεινεν ἑαυτόν.

Hymn to Hermes, 235—239.

Baumeister marks the last line as "corruptus." ἀλέεινεν ἑαυτόν is obviously unsound. Gemoll after Lohsee reads ἀνέειλεν. Read by the change of a single letter ἀλεΑινεν ἑαυτόν, and grammar and sense are alike restored. The infant Hermes cuddling himself up in his σπάργανα is compared to the embers kept hot by the enveloping ashes. ἀλεαίνω is just the word we want. Everyone remembers that in a well known passage of Aristophanes (Eccl. 540) both this verb, and its

cognate *ἀλέα*, are used to describe the warmth gained by rolling oneself up in the bedclothes, or by putting on extra wraps.

IV

Αἶψα δ' ἵκοντο κάρηνα θυώδεος Οὐλύμποιο
ἐς πατέρα Κρονίωνα Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα·
κεῖθι γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισι δίκης κατέκειτο τάλαντα.

Hymn to Hermes, 322—4.

In these lines Apollo and Hermes are represented as resorting to Zeus for a decision of their dispute over the stolen oxen. As far as I am aware no one has ever made any use of the last line quoted as a help towards elucidating the meaning of the famous lines in Il. XVIII. 507—8,

κεῖτο δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι δύω χρυσοῖο τάλαντα
τῷ δόμεν ὃς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἴποι.

Although in the ordinary Homeric Lexicons we find the *τάλαντα* of the Hymn placed in the list of passages, in which the word is used in the sense of scales, reference to such passages, viz. Il. VIII. 69; XVI. 658; XIX. 223; XXII. 209, shows that they differ essentially in several details from the line under discussion. In those cases (1) Zeus is weighing the *fates* of mortal men, e.g. Hector and Achilles, whereas here we have the two gods—his own sons—referring their dispute to him as a *judge*. (2) There is no mention of *δίκη* in any of the other passages.

The word *κατέκειτο* introduces an idea not found in the other cases, and seems rather to link our line with the *κεῖτο δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι δύω χρυσοῖο τάλαντα*.

To put it briefly, whereas in all the other cases, Zeus has to deal with the question of the Fate of Mortals, he here appears as Judge in the disputes of the Immortals.

Now if this view be correct, it throws considerable light on the dark line *τῷ δόμεν ὃς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἴποι*. In a former note in this Journal an attempt was made to support Sir H. Maine's interpretation of that passage, by an argument drawn from the small value of the Homeric talent, according to

which the two talents would have been utterly insufficient as the ποινὴ ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένου, and consequently τῷ...ὃς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἴποι must be referred to the Judge and not to the successful litigant. Now whilst there is an ambiguity in this passage arising from τῷ being in the singular number, whereby it is possible to refer it to the successful suitor, on the other hand the line in the Hymn leaves no room for doubt. There is here no question of a ποινή, and furthermore even if there were, the word ἀμφοτέροις would make it clear that the τάλαντα have been deposited by both parties, unless we adopt the absurd alternative that both litigants can win.

This leads us to examine the meaning of κατέκειτο. Everyone is familiar with the use of κεῖσθαι and its compounds as the passive of τιθέναι and its compounds. Everyone is equally familiar with the Attic legal phrase τιθέναι πρυτανεῖά τινι = to bring an action against a person (sacramento aliquem provocare), with which we may compare αἱ θέσεις (sc. τῶν πρυτανείων), Ar. Nub. 1191, and although, as far as I know, the compound κατατιθέναι is nowhere found joined with πρυτανεῖα, it is of very common occurrence in the sense of *to deposit, pay down.*

Now just as in the Iliad two talents had been deposited and were lying in the midst of the judges (κεῖτο ἐν μέσσοισι), so in the Hymn the poet speaks of the talents having been deposited with the Judge Zeus (κεῖθι ἀμφοτέροισι κατέκειτο τάλαντα), and to make clear what is meant by τάλαντα the poet has defined them by δίκης.

Is it over bold to affirm that in the Attic θέσις πρυτανείων we have the descendants of that older sacramental procedure, which, according to Sir H. Maine, is the true key to the Trial-scene, just as we may consider the staff (βακτηρία), given to each Athenian dicast as the symbol of his office, to be the lineal representative of those Homeric σκῆπτρα τοῖσιν ἔπειτ' ἤϊσσον, ἀμοιβηδὶς δὲ δίκαζον?

V

Θάρσει, δῖε κάτωρ, τῷ ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ.

Hymn to Dionysus, 55.

These words are addressed by Dionysus to the pious *κυβερνήτης*, who alone of his Tyrsenian captors had recognized his divinity.

δῖε κάτωρ codd. BCFD; *δῖ' ἑκάτωρ* codd. AM. A host of attempts at emendation will be found in Ebeling *sub voce*. Baumeister in his large edition says "an *ἀκάτωρ* vel tale quid ducendum ab *ἄκατος* navicula? Sed omnino displicet illud *δῖε*...latere suspicor formam aliquam rariorem nominis proprii gubernatoris." In his small edition he says "an *δῖ' ἵκτωρ*?" *κάτωρ* is also the reading of E (Modena).

Can we explain *κάτωρ* as oarsman, mariner (cf. *κατήρης*)? *κάτ-ωρ* : *κάτ-ορος** = *χρυσ-άωρ* : *χρυσ-άορος*.

With my hypothetical form *κάτ-ορος* we may compare *πεντηκόντ-ορος* (cf. Vaniček *Wört.* p. 50). The form *χρυσάωρ* is found in the Hymn to the Delian Apollo 123. Baumeister's antipathy to *δῖε* seems ill founded, when we recollect the epithet as applied to the pious swineherd in the Odyssey (*δῖος ὑφορβός*) and such expressions as *δῖοι ἑταῖροι* in Il. v. 663, *δῖε γεραιέ*, Il. xxiv. 618.

VI

In the *Proceedings* of the Cambridge Philological Society 1883 I offered an explanation of the use of *ὡς* as a preposition on the analogy of the use of *tatra*, *yatra* in Sanskrit, in such expressions as ajagāma tatra yatra rājā sa Naiśadhaḥ (Nala vii. 1), lit. she went where Nala was. In Sanskrit rājā is the nominative, whereas in such phrases as *ἦλθεν ὡς βασιλέα*, we have the accus. I suggested that originally in Greek the phrase was *ἦλθεν ὡς βασιλεύς* (*ἐστί*), and thus punctuated and explained the line *ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὅμοιον ἄγει θεὸς, ὡς τὸν ὅμοιον* (Od. xvii. 218), 'where God ever brings like, there he brings like,' making the second *ὡς* the correlative of the first, like *ἔνθα—ἔνθα*. I further suggested that the reason why *ὡς* was confined to *persons* was that whereas a *place* was a fixed point, a person was a *moveable* point, and required to be localized. Professor Cowell pointed out to me that *tena*, *yena* were similarly used almost entirely with *persons* in Buddhistic Sanskrit. But I was unable to show either an instance of an accusative with *yatra* or *yena*

in Sanskrit, or of ὡς with a nominative to bridge over the gap. However I am now enabled to do so by the kindness of Mr R. A. Neil, Reader in Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge, who has pointed out to me that there is an instance of *yena* with the accusative in the Ramayana, 2. 52. 10 *jagmatur yena tām Gaṇgām* "they went to the Ganges." Böthlingk and Roth, who quote this passage under *yena*, give also a variant with the nominative case. But obviously this is a case where lectio difficilior melior est. We have thus got an actual proof of such a transition in Sanskrit, as I have suggested for the Greek ὡς, under the influence of εἰς, πρός, ἐπί, when in course of time these came into use with the accusative case.

VII

Νωλεμέως ἐχόμην, ὄφρ' ἐξεμέσειεν ὀπίσσω
ἱστὸν καὶ τρόπιν αὖτις· ἐελδομένῳ δέ μοι ἦλθον
ὄψ'· ἦμος δ' ἐπὶ δόρπον ἀνὴρ ἀγορῆθεν ἀνέστη
κρίνων νείκεα πολλὰ δικαζομένων αἰζηῶν,
τῆμος δὴ τά γε δοῦρα Χαρύβδιος ἐξεφαάνθη.

Odyssey, XII. 437—41.

Dr Merry's note on the passage is as follows: "The objection against these three lines [439—441] is that they are contradictory to what is said about the hours of ebb and flow in the whirlpool. Odysseus appears to have reached Charybdis at sunrise (429), but not till evening did his timbers come up from the gulf. To this it may be added that ἦμος in Homer always stands at the beginning of a verse. The time denoted is towards evening, when a judge may be supposed to have got through his cases and when the market-place begins to empty. Cf. μέχρι οὗ ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος Herod. III. 104."

First let us find out the hours of ebb and flow in the whirlpool, which are described at lines 104—106 of the same book:

τῷ δ' ὑπὸ δῖα Χάρυβδις ἀναρροιβδεῖ μέλαν ὕδωρ.
τρὶς μὲν γάρ τ' ἀνίησιν ἐπ' ἤματι, τρὶς δ' ἀναροιβδεῖ
δεινόν· μὴ σύ γε κεῖθι τύχοις, ὅτε ῥοιρδήσειεν.

Dr Merry in his note quotes after Buchholz from Heller (*Philologus* 15. 354, also given by Ebeling s. v. ἀναρροιβδεῖν)

to the effect that *τρίς*[1] really describes with perfect accuracy the normal flow and ebb of the sea. He tabulates the results thus for a period of twenty-four hours:

Beginning of flood.	*Beginning of ebb.*
6 a. m.	noon.
6 p. m.	midnight.
6 a. m.	noon.

"This arrangement gives the full amount of changes of direction for the day and night."

Now as we saw above Odysseus' timbers were swallowed up at sunrise; that was therefore the hour of ebb. Accordingly his raft ought to have reappeared near noon, the hour of the flow of the tide. Next comes the question of the hour at which a judge leaves the *ἀγορά*. Dr Merry most appositely quotes Herod. III. 104 for the expression *διάλυσις ἀγορῆς*. Now I have already shown (*Transactions of Cambridge Philolog. Society*, Vol. IV. 301) that the *διάλυσις ἀγορᾶς* must mean a period before noon (and that *ἡ πλήθουσα ἀγορὰ* means about 9 a.m.). This very passage of Herodotus (III. 104) makes it clear: *θερμότατος δέ ἐστι ἥλιος τούτοισι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι* (sc. *τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς*) *τὸ ἑωθινὸν, οὐ κατάπερ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι μεσαμβρίης, ἀλλ' ὑπερτείλας μέχρι οὗ ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον καίει πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ μεσαμβρίῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὕτως ὥστ' ἐν ὕδατι λόγος αὐτούς ἐστι βρέχεσθαι τηνικαῦτα. μεσοῦσα δὲ ἡ ἡμέρη σχεδὸν παραπλησίως καίει τούς τε ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς Ἰνδούς.* This demonstrates that *διάλυσις ἀγορῆς* precedes *μεσοῦσα ἡ ἡμέρη*.

As is still the custom in the East, they went early to the bazaar, the full time (*πληθώρη ἀγορῆς*) was about 9 a.m., and by noon they had gone home for the midday siesta.

Now we see that it was really a little before noon that the Judge in the Odyssey left the agora (*ἀγορῆθεν ἀνέστη*). He has been kept late for he has had many disputes to decide (*κρίνων νείκεα πολλά*), so it is close to noon before he leaves.

[1] A good instance of the confusion caused by the process of counting *inclusively* is afforded by the blunder of the Roman Sacerdotes respecting the *quarto quoque anno* of the Julian calendar.

This then describes accurately the hour at which Charybdis begins to flow. For the whirlpool had ebbed at sunrise. There is therefore no reason for rejecting as spurious those three picturesque lines. For the objection to the position of ἦμος in the verse is too slight by itself to invalidate the genuineness of the passage. For instance although ἠελίοιο is usually found at the end of the verse, yet in two phrases (ἠελίοιο βοῶν Od. XIII. 353, and ἠελίοιο πύλας Od. XXIV. 12) it is found in the middle of the line.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

CONIECTANEA.

Aulus Gellius.

18 4 11 *ἔτυμα quoque harum vocum et origines.*

Et origines is probably a gloss on *ἔτυμα*: i.e. origines
ἔτυμα: so in Cicero N. D. 1 1 *causa et principium* and *causa principium* vary in the MSS. with *causa id est principium*. In the same way I suspect that in Cicero De R. P. 6 § 17, *summus ipse deus, arcens et continens ceteros,* the words *et continens* are a gloss, *i.e. continens:* for *continere* is a common explanation of *arcere* in the grammarians. An undoubted example of this kind of corruption is supplied by Cicero Orator § 12, *illa enim sunt curricula multiplicium variorumque sermonum.* This is quoted by Servius on Aen. 8 408 *haec sunt curricula ac spatia multiplicium variorumque verborum,* Servius having just observed '*curriculum*' *Cicero in Oratore pro* '*loci spatio.*' Another may be Martianus Capella 3 333, *mera Cecropis atque Attica.*

Nonius Marcellus.

P. 328 M l. 9. The words *iactare dicere* are inserted as the *lemma* to the line (Aen. 10 322) *ecce Paro voces dum iactat inertes.* I would suggest instead *iactare, in cassum fundere,* from Servius on Ecl. 2 5 *iactabat, in cassum fundebat.*

Servius.

Ecl. 2 8 *Frigora, i.e. aprica loca.* Surely *opaca loca*: comp. E. 1 52 *frigus captabis opacum.*

Ecl. 6 26 *Haec autem omnia de Sileno a Theopompo in eo libro qui Thaumasia appellatur conscripta sunt. Ipse autem ad commendationem addidit.* Perhaps *multa* has dropped out between the *m* of *commendationem* and the *a* of *addidit.*

G. 1 11 (from Varro L. L. 7 36) (*Fauni*) *di Latinorum, ita ut et Faunus et Fauna sit. Per ex versibus...solitos fari futura.* For *per ex, perhibent eos* may be right.

G. 2 172 *Subfacta, ut fertilitatem habentia rora.* Perhaps *subaudi, facta tua fertilitatem habere Italiae rura* [*testantur*].

G. 2 194 *Pandis, cavis*: probably *curvis*: comp. on v. 445 *pandas curvas.*

G. 3 122 *Arionis* (*equi*) *ex Cerere, cuius odorinium Adrastus habuit.* For *odorinium* I propose *dominium.*

G. 3 148 *Dividit enim furia armenta cum ab eo* (*oestro*) *stimulantur. Dividit* can hardly stand: perhaps *dira agit.*

G. 3 446 *Musmonem dicit ducem gregis, quem ita et Varro commemorat.* Comparing Isidore 12 1 61, *musmo ex capra et ariete,* I am inclined to think that the words *quem ita et Varro* are a corruption of *quem mixtum ex ariete et capra Varro*: *capra* might easily have dropped out before *Varro,* and *quem ita et* may conceal the words *quem mixtum ex ariete et.*

G. 4 257 *Multi apes dictas volunt quod se pedibus invicem tenent. A pedibus* seems to be required.

G. 4 447 '*Deum praecepta secuti*': *propter matrem hoc nomen.* Perhaps *propter matrem hoc monentem.*

Aen. 10 154 *Ferit* (*foedus*), *facit.* Perhaps *sancit*: Nonius p. 311 on the same passage, *ferire sancire, firmare.*

Orientius.

Commonitorium 1 433

Respice quod paucis floret nec permanet annis,
et tamen aeternis culpa manet lacrimis.

For *floret nec* I propose *flora aetas* (FLORAETAC).

2 215

Intereunt decies qui ternos vixerit annos
atque illum vixit qui modo missile sim.

Perhaps

Interimit, decies qui ternos vixerit annos
atque illum vixit qui modo (= who has only just lived)
vis similis.

2 219—222

Quid vitam traxisse iuvat, si vivere cessas?
quaeve bonis merces, si teneare malis,
cum, nisi dum frueris fructu tangere fruendi,
et vita haec vitae vivat in officio?

Read *nec* for *et* in the last line, and all goes smoothly. "Since, unless you are to be touched with the fruit of enjoyment while you enjoy, not even this life lives in the function of living"; i.e. lives in the real sense of the word.

Placidus.

P. 8 11 Deuerling: *Abiteres abires.* The MSS read *abstiteres abires*: Deuerling conjectured *abiteres*, Löwe (Glossae Nominum, &c., p. 132) *asbiteres.* I believe the true form to be *abaeteres*: *abaeto* is found in Plautus Truc. 96.

Glossae Nominum (Löwe) p. 25.

Bustuarium, cauterium, incisio membri. For *incisio incensio* is required: and perhaps *mortui* for *membri.*

Gloss. Graeco-Lat. ap. Löwe Prodromus p. 217, *παροιμία proverbium, adagio, ambitio.* Rönsch, in his *Semasiologische Beiträge*, quotes this as evidence for *ambitio = proverbium.* But probably *ambitio* is a corruption for *ambagio* or *ambigio*: Varro L. L. 7 31 *adagio est littera commutata ambagio.*

Eberhard of Bethune.

8 242 (Wrobel) *Hostin aequale est.* Read *aequare*: *hostin* being the bastard Greek infinitive (ὅστειν) for the Latin *hostire.*

H. NETTLESHIP.

THE EPINAL GLOSSARY.

A second reading of this glossary has suggested to me the following emendations.

P. 1 A l. 6 (Sweet) *adpoasticus* (see on p. 29) *adstans.* Read *apostaticus abstans.*

Ib. l. 24 *actionatur qui de pretio contendit.* Read *auctionator*: so p. 3 A l. 29 *actio* is written for *auctio.*

C l. 1 *accerra arcaturis*: a clerical error for *arca turis.*

Ib. l. 23 *archia initium.* Read *ἀρχή.*

E l. 16 *artum dolum.* Read *artem.*

Ib. l. 25 *anopsii, nigri colores.* Perhaps *Aegyptii*: Gloss. Philoxeni *Aegyptium φαιόν.*

P. 2 A l. 9 *apporia defluens.* Read *ἀπόρροια afluens*: perhaps *res afluens, res* having been dropped after the last syllable of *ἀπόρροια.*

Ib. l. 27 *almeta alterholt.* Read *alneta.*

E l. 9 *abiles optabiles.* Read *habiles aptabiles.*

P. 3 C l. 2 *augetio sabbastio.* Read *augusto σεβαστῷ.*

Ib. l. 5 *apocrifa recordita vel occulta.* Read *recondita.*

Ib. l. 28 *adorea libamina. Adoreum* is no doubt glossed as = *sacrificium*: but I suspect that this gloss ran *adorea liba,* and that *mina* stands for *mensae,* as Servius (Aen. 7 111) tells us that in Vergil's *adorea liba* there was an allusion to *mensae paniceae.*

E l. 10 *ambhibalus, hircus bellosus.* Read *ἀμφίμαλλος, hircus villosus.*

Ib. l. 30 *abtet vos, impleat vos.* Perhaps *habitet vos.*

Ib. l. 31 *abtemus abiungemus.* Read *aptemus adiungamus.*

P. 4 A l. 2 *abdus ab acrore acie turba.* Perhaps *acidus ab acore. Acie, e turba*: the reference being to Verg. G. 4 88 *verum ubi ductores acie revocaveris ambo.*

Ib. l. 6 *aaentus vox alta sive producta.* Read *accentus.*

Ib. l. 9 *aclidis tela arma gladia.* Perhaps *aclides tela antiqua quaedam*: Servius on Aen. 7 730 *aclides sunt tela quaedam antiqua.*

C l. 7 *eleveus habundans, copiosus.* Probably *afluens abundans*, &c. I had formerly conjectured *alluvius.*

Ib. l. 13 *aeterna partes caeli superiores.* Read *aetheria.*

Ib. l. 16 *affecta ornata agga circa. Agga circa* is a second gloss, standing perhaps for *ambi circa.*

Ib. l. 18 *agonia hostia agitor regens.* The last two words (a second gloss) may stand for *ἡγήτωρ regens*: or *actor gerens*?

E l. 4 *allisus adfectus.* Read *adflictus.*

P. 5 A l. 1 *anediosus tediosus.* Read *accediosus.*

Ib. l. 3 *angit consignat.* Read *constringit.*

Ib. l. 16 *apiscitur utilitate consequitur.* For *utilitate* read perhaps *anteeuntes.*

Ib. l. 21 *apricitas color.* Read *calor.*

C l. 17 *aaultis regalibus.* Read *augustis.*

P. 6 C l. 36 *barrit. elevans cum vocem emittit.* Read *barrit elephans.*

Ib. E l. 10 *barsis, rufus, niger.* Read *burrus*, or *birrus.*

P. 8 A l. 12 *camiter benigne*
comitare loqui.

Benigne loqui is the interpretation of *comiter* with some word; was this *compellare*, for which *comitare* now stands?

P. 11 A l. 4 *gennomae, creaturae.* Read *γεννήματα.*

Ib. l. 6 *gesis, fatum decretum.* ? *θέμις*, or *θεσμός*?

Ib. l. 14 *gliscit ascendit.* Probably *accenditur.*

Ib. l. 31 *habia apto.* Read *habili.*

Ib. l. 37 *horomatis auditis.* Perhaps *acroamatis.*

Ib. C l. 14 *hrema color.* Read *χρῶμα.*

Ib. l. 21 *hermon anathema.* Perhaps *ἱερόν.*

P. 12 A l. 22 *in prostibulo, in domo foricaria.* Read *fornicaria.*

Ib. C l. 36 *in culem, in follem bubulinum.*
et aliter
machina contexta et bitumine lita.
Read *in culleum, in f. b.*
Falarica, machina c. e. b. l.

Ib. E l. 18 *insilitus, nobilis, clarus.* Read *inclitus.*

Ib. l. 37 *imus, notissimus.* Read *unus.*

P. 13 C l. 10 *lictores, ministri calonum.* Perhaps *lixones.*

Ib. l. 36 *lepidum, voluntarium.* Read *libitum.*

Ib. E l. 34 *las laris, id est est ignis.* Read *id est Vesta, ignis.*

P. 14 A l. 5 *liciter, qui cum lituo canit.* Read *liticen.*

Ib. l. 17 *latus, navis.* Read *ratis.*

Ib. l. 30 *lenotoga, duplex vestis regia.* Read *laena, toga duplex, v. r.*

Ib. l. 34 *levis in verbis et omne quod a spiritibus caret.* Perhaps *lene in verbis est omne* &c.

Ib. C l. 19 *malleolus, genus fomenti apud Persas.* Read *tormenti.*

Ib. l. 36 *merepsica, unguentaria.* Read μυρεφθική.

Ib. l. 40 *musicanter, leniter.* Perhaps *mussitanter.*

Ib. E l. 34 *multata, percussa.* Read *mulcata.*

Ib. l. 37 *marterium modicum oratorium.* Perhaps for two glosses: μέτριον *modicum,* ῥητορικόν *oratorium.*

P. 15 C l. 3 *mapalia cesae postorum.* Read *casae pastorum.*

Ib. l. 11 *mergite culmi, manipulos spicarum.* Read *manipulo.*

Ib. l. 29 *mimilogus qui minus docet.* Read *mimologus qui mimos docet.*

Ib. l. 33 *mutilat murmurat.* Perhaps *muginatur, murmurat.*

Ib. E l. 7 *monopoleum pigmentarium.* Read *myropolium.*

Ib. l. 15 *made, aspersus unguento.* Read *madens, sparsus u.*

P. 16 A l. 19 *naama, decor.* Perhaps *nomen.*

Ib. l. 39 *navat, frangat.* The facsimile seems to point to *praestat* as the true reading underlying *frangat.*

P. 17 C l. 34 *oppansum, velum incensa quod undique pandatur.* Read *oppansum velum, intensum* e. q. s.

Ib. E l. 16 *ptoceos inopiae.* Read πτωχείας.

P. 18 E l. 8 *portarum, indumenta coria quibus portae sunt indutae.* Read *portarum indumenta; coria* &c.

Ib. E l. 15 *prexeos, inopiae.* Read πτωχείας.

Ib. l. 16 *pere perocenes, de adiectione.* Read περὶ προσθήκης.

Ib. l. 18 *pugis, prancatiarius.* Read *pugil, pancratiarius.*

Ib. l. 35 *pulpita, saltus.* Perhaps *gradus.*

P. 19 A l. 5 *pudorem, tunica in talarem.* Read *pedalem tunicam, talarem.*

Ib. l. 25 *praxinus, viridis color.* Read *prasinus.*

Ib. l. 26 *pliosperus, lux lucis.* Read *φωσφόρος, dux lucis.*

P. 20 C l. 27 *Prancatarius permulcit plus lenit.* Probably two glosses : *pancratiarus pugis (= pugil) : permulcet lenit.*

Ib. l. 28 *praestullit plus quam oportet.* Probably *prae se tulit, laudavit se plus quam oportet :* l. 37 below, *prae se tullit, laudavit se.*

Ib. E l. 1 *procamus, ornatus aedificiorum.* Probably *πρόδομος.*

P. 21 A l. 2 *palismate locus lucte.* Perhaps *palaesmata, ludus luctae* : or does *palismate* stand for *palaestra* ?

Ib. l. 11 *panibus sol.* Read *Phoebus.*

Ib. l. 18 *palestra, agmina.* Perhaps *agonia.*

Ib. E l. 20 *quaeritat, clamat.* Read *quiritat.*

Ib. l. 26 *quasum quomodo.* Read *quorsum.*

P. 22 A l. 39 *repticius, demoniosus.* Read *arrepticius.*

Ib. E l. 4 *rethorridus, satis horridus.* Read *retorridus, satis torridus.*

Ib. l. 28 *redimicula antiquibus mitra ligantur.* Read (from Isidore 19 31 5) *redimicula sunt quibus mitrae ligantur.*

P. 23 A l. 2 *raidum, arbitrandum.* Perhaps *rendum.*

Ib. 25 *subpuratis, insania fluentis et purulentis.* Read *sanie fluentibus.*

Ib. C l. 5 *stemma, positio vel corona.* Evidently for two glosses ; perhaps *stasis positio, stemma corona.*

Ib. l. 22 *synditus contrapositus.* Read *synthetus compositus.*

P. 24 C l. 38 *supera, navis.* Perhaps *supparum, pars navis.*

Ib. E l. 3 *suscenturiatis, adiunctus.* Read *succenturiatus.*

Ib. l. 10 *sabiatur, obscuratur.* Read *suaviatur, osculatur.*

P. 25 A l. 1 *silla, seraena.* Read *suda, serena.*

Ib. E l. 6 *stultatus quid effrenescit.* The facsimile seems to me to point to *stultatus, qui defraudatur.*

P. 26 A l. 25 *sertis, coniugiis.* Read *coniunctis.*

Ib. l. 31 *senente, furente.* Perhaps *saeviente.*

Ib. E l. 8 *thiaras, laudes virginum.* Perhaps *thiasos.*
P. 28 A l. 18 *vala, palma manus.* Read *vola.*
Ib. E l. 15 *viri cordati, bona corde.* Read *bono.*
Ib. l. 24 *valens do, egritudo.* Read *valetudo.*
Ib. l. 26 *vagurrit, per odium vagat.* Read *per otium.*

H. NETTLESHIP.

NOTES ON CERTAIN PASSAGES IN DEUTERO-ISAIAH.

Isaiah xl. 19.

Of the last clause of this verse, three renderings have been proposed. Gesenius, who is followed by Delitzsch and most others, regards צוֹרֵף as a participle used in the sense of a finite verb—"und schmelzet silberne Kettchen daran." But it would seem that Gesenius had doubts as to the construction of the sentence, which he admits to be "auffallend," and he afterwards alludes to the view of Cocceius, who translates, "et (sunt) catenae argenteae aurifabri," apparently taking it as—"and silver chains, viz. those of a refiner." A third view, that of Hitzig, is that צוֹרֵף is the subject of a verb understood. He therefore renders, "Der Schmelzer, mit Golde beschlägt ers, und mit silbernen Kettchen der Schmelzer." It must be confessed that all these constructions would be harsh, but a fourth view is at least theoretically possible, without any modification of the Masoretic text, excepting in the matter of accents. We may connect כֶּסֶף with צוֹרֵף instead of with רִתְקוֹת—which would give, "and (he makes) chains, the silver of a refiner." Words expressing material are often, in Hebrew as in Arabic, put in apposition to the noun which they describe. With כֶּסֶף צוֹרֵף we may compare such phrases as שֵׁבֶט סֵפֶר (Judges v. 14) and אֵשׁ מְצָרֵף (Malachi iii. 2).

Chap. xliv. 11.

It has long been suspected that there is some corruption in the second clause of this verse. Lowth proposed to read מֵאָדָם

for מֵאָדָם, but, as it happens, no derivative of the root אדם is used in the sense of "to blush," "to be ashamed." The LXX. translate *καὶ κωφοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων*, shewing that their Hebrew text was the same as ours. The corruption therefore, if it exist, must be an old one. I would venture to suggest reading—וחרשים המה מאדם for וְחַרְשֵׁיהֶם מֵחֲמוּדָם—translating, "Behold all his associates shall be ashamed, and their craftsmen also, of that which they have desired." In *v.* 9 the term חֲמוּדֵיהֶם has been applied to the idols. See also Isaiah i. 29, יֵבֹשׁוּ מֵאֵילִים אֲשֶׁר חֲמַדְתֶּם. As for the arrangement of the words, there is an exact parallel in ch. lxvi. 16,

כִּי בָאֵשׁ יהוה נִשְׁפָּט

וּבְחַרְבּוֹ אֶת־כָּל־בָּשָׂר

where אֶת־כָּל־בָּשָׂר is logically dependent upon נִשְׁפָּט, precisely as I have supposed מֵחֲמוּדָם to be dependent upon יֵבֹשׁוּ, the intervening term—וּבְחַרְבּוֹ in the one case, and וְחַרְשֵׁיהֶם in the other—being inserted as it were by an afterthought.

Chap. xlv. 14.

עָלַיִךְ יַעֲבֹרוּ has hitherto been rendered, "shall come over unto thee"; so Gesenius, "werden zu dir übergehen." This use of עָבַר עַל may be defended by a reference to II. Samuel xxiv. 20. There is however another meaning, of much more frequent occurrence, which the words may bear, and which perhaps agrees as well or better with the context. Following Judges ix. 25, I. Kings ix. 8, II. Kings iv. 9, Job ix. 11 and other passages, we may translate, "they shall pass before thee." The metaphor would be taken from a train of captives and spoils, led past a victorious general. This view is favoured by the mention of זְקִים, for to suppose that the nations are represented as voluntarily putting on chains, is a mere assumption.

The words attributed to the heathen in this verse are perhaps best illustrated by Psalm lxvi. 3—בְּרֹב עֻזְּךָ יְכַחֲשׁוּ־לְךָ אֹיְבֶיךָ.

Chap. lii. 2.

שִׁבְיָה בַּת־צִיּוֹן is usually translated, "captive daughter of Zion." The word שִׁבְיָה, if correctly written, must be the feminine of a hypothetical *שָׁבִי, like עָנִי fem. עֲנִיָּה; שְׁבִי is a collective (even in Exodus xii. 29 it does not necessarily mean "a captive"). The fact that neither *שָׁבִי nor *שִׁבְיָה occurs elsewhere, is not in itself a serious objection to the ordinary rendering of the verse, but the placing of the epithet before its substantive, in שִׁבְיָה בַּת־צִיּוֹן, is very surprising, and cannot be justified by reference to so suspicious a passage as Isaiah x. 30. Moreover the parallelism would lead us to expect a verb before בַּת־צִיּוֹן, for in the first half of the verse שְׁבִי יְרוּשָׁלַם can scarcely mean anything but, "Take thy seat, O Jerusalem." To translate, "Gefangen Volk Jerusalem!" (Hitzig) is to destroy the poetical image, which represents Jerusalem as a woman. It is therefore possible that for שִׁבְיָה בַּת־צִיּוֹן we should read שְׁבִי הַבַּת צִיּוֹן—"Take thy seat, daughter of Zion." Compare Lamentations ii. 13—הַבַּת יְרוּשָׁלַם (also a Vocative). If this be so, it is perhaps better to follow the Kĕthîbh הִתְפַּתְּחִו, "the chains of thy neck are loosened."

A. A. BEVAN.

ADVERSARIA.

III.

CATULL. LXIV. 348—351

Illius egregias uirtutes claraque facta
Saepe fatebuntur natorum in funere matres,
Cum inciuium canos soluent a uertice crines
Putridaque infirmis uariabunt pectora palmis.

The first words of v. 350 are variously given in the MSS. G has *cum in ciuium*, *AL cum ciuium*, Ambrosianus H 46 *cum in curium*, finally *O* a m. pr. seems to have had *inciuos*, but this was altered by the m. sec. to something which can only be interpreted after a close inspection of the MS or of the facsimile given in my edition, p. 145, but which I incline to believe was intended to represent *cum inciu o*^{s}, i.e. *inciuero*.

A few years ago in reading Ausonius I came on this distich in the Epitaphia Heroum. He is speaking of Achilles (5. 1, 2 Schenkl)

Non una Aeaciden tellus tulit, ossa teguntur
Litore Sigeo, crinem Larisa cremauit,

where *crinem* is an old correction of the MS *crimen*, just as in the passage of Catullus cited above, the Oxford MS (*O*) gives *crimen* where the other MSS have *crines*.

If the epitaph were perfect, it would be more possible to speak of the meaning with certainty; as it is, of v. 3 only the words *Pars tumuli*, of v. 4 only *orbe set in toto* remain: and we are not helped here by a corresponding Greek epigram, as in several others of the Epitaphia. Still I think no doubt can exist as to

the general sense of 1, 2. Two lands received the remains of Achilles: his bones are buried in Asia at Sigeum, his hair was burnt in his native soil, at Larisa. Virgil speaks of *Larisaeus Achilles* Aen. II. 197, and there was a genealogical legend which made Larisa mother of Phthius, the *eponymus* of the Thessalian region Phthia (Serv. on Aen. II. 197, Steph. Byz. s. v. Φθία). I should suppose then that a tradition existed which represented Achilles' hair as cut off before his body was burnt as described in the last book of the Odyssey, then sent to Larisa, and there solemnly burnt, no doubt with funereal rites of an appropriate kind. This would be a natural outgrowth of Achilles' lament, Il. XXIII. 144—146

> Σπερχεῖ', ἄλλως σοί γε πατὴρ ἠρήσατο Πηλεὺς
> κεῖσέ με νοστήσαντα φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν
> σοί τε κόμην κερέειν ῥέξειν θ' ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην.

The hero was not destined to fulfil his father's vow; he was to die in a foreign land; but yet the hair, which Peleus had hoped to consecrate to the Spercheius, his natal river, will find its way back to Thessaly, and there be burnt, in everlasting memory of the great epichorian hero.

It is needless to dwell at length on the numberless legends connected with Achilles which a subsequent age developed not only in Greece, but Italy and elsewhere. Plutarch records such a legend at Tanagra (Qu. Graec. 17); Lycophron (859—865) commemorates a custom of the Crotoniat women to make perpetual mourning for Achilles, in which gold ornaments and purple robes were forbidden.

> γυναιξὶ δ' ἔσται τεθμὸς ἐγχώροις ἀεὶ
> πενθεῖν τὸν εἰνάπηχυν Αἰακοῦ τρίτον
> καὶ Δωρίδος, πρηστῆρα δαίου μάχης,
> καὶ μήτε χρυσῷ φαιδρὰ καλλύνειν ῥέθη
> μήθ' ἁβροπήνους ἀμφιβάλλεσθαι πέπλους
> κάλχῃ φορυκτούς, οὕνεκεν θεᾷ θεὸς
> χερσὶν μέγαν στόρθυγγα δωρεῖται κτίσαι.

Now if Ausonius has rightly preserved a tradition, elsewhere, so far as I know, unmentioned, in connexion with Achilles; if that

legend, perhaps embodied in some yearly or at least recurring solemnity, connected the burning of Achilles' hair with Larisa; similar observances may, nay are likely to, have existed in other parts of Thessaly. No attentive reader of the *Nuptiae Thetidis et Pelei* can fail to be struck by the prominence given to Thessalian scenes. 35—7 *Phthiotica Tempe Crannonisque domos ac moenia Larisaea, Pharsaliam coeunt, Pharsalia tecta frequentant,* 280 *quos Thessala magnis Montibus ora creat,* 285 *Peniosad est, uiridantia Tempe, Tempe quae siluae cingunt superimpendentes... linquens,* 300 *Vnigenamque simul cultricem montibus Iri,* 324 *Emathiae tutamen opis.* Hence it seems *a priori* likely that in the song of the Parcae, which forms the culmination of the poem, at least one reference to the native land of Achilles would find a place. Such a name I seem to trace in the corrupt v. 350, where I would read

Cum *in Ciero* canos soluent a uertice crines

and explain of the Trojan women carried captive into Thessaly, and there performing rites of sepulture (like those ascribed to Andromache in Aen. III.) to the memory of their sons slain at Troy; or perhaps as part of similar rites in honour of Achilles.

Cieros was introduced by Meineke into Cat. LXIV. 35 for *Siros* or *Syros* of MSS (Vindic. Strabon., p. 153). He shows (p. 124 of his Steph. Byz.) that the form Κίερος occurs in Strabo IX., p. 435, and is probably to be restored to Theophrastus de causis plantarum V. 14, where MSS give Κίθρος. Cieros, more commonly Cierion, is identified by Steph. Byz. with the more ancient Arne. This Thessalian Arne it is which seems to be meant in the Scut. Herc. (380, 475) ascribed to Hesiod πᾶσα δὲ Μυρμιδόνων τε πόλις κλειτή τ' Ἰαωλκός, Ἄρνη τ' ἠδ' Ἑλίκη Ἀνθειά τε ποιήεσσα; at least the association with the Myrmidons and Iolcus points in that direction. If indeed the Scholiast was right in identifying the city of the Myrmidons with Pharsalus, a place specially connected with Achilles and his mother Thetis (see my note on Cat. LXIV. 37), we should have in Hesiod's poem the same juxtaposition of the two towns which Meineke supposed to exist in Catullus LXIV. 35—37, a hypothesis which however cannot safely be assumed, and which

is quite unnecessary to the general validity of my argument. It would be enough for our purpose if Catullus had either (1) read in some of the countless Greek poems now lost the description of such a ceremony (in which the Trojan *αἰχμαλωτίδες* were introduced mourning for their sons slain by Achilles at Troy) connected with Cieros, or (2) had witnessed in person some such recurring rite at the place itself. It would be only natural that he should use this for the imaginative purposes of his poem, thus giving to the prophetic chant in which the Parcae foretell the glories of Peleus' son, something of a local glow. 'To Achilles' great deeds shall many a Trojan mother be an unwilling witness, when at Cieros, in the land of their Phthian conqueror, they perform rites of absent sepulture to the sons that fell at Troy slain by Achilles' hand.'

This view will not seem improbable to those who remember how conspicuous a part is assigned in Greek legend to the *αἰχμαλωτίδες* carried from Troy by the returning Greeks. The starting-point of these stories may have been Il. VI. 457, where Hector prophesies to Andromache *καί κεν ὕδωρ φορέοις Μεσσηίδος ἢ Ὑπερείης*, names which the Pharsalians identified with two springs near a ruined town sixty stadia distant from Pharsalus (Strab. 432). Lycophron records several such legends: a very curious one connected with Eretria is mentioned by Plutarch Quaest. Graec. 31: and see Seeley's interesting discussion on the Aeneas-legends in the Introduction to his Commentary on Liv. I. If indeed we might argue from the memorial honours paid to Achilles by the Crotoniat women, as recorded in the verses before cited from Lycophron, we might believe that some such ceremony existed in *historic* times at Cierion. There would be a concourse at the *ἱρᾶον*, attended by women in black robes; possibly a recitation from Homer, or a solemn funeral lament.

It is perhaps some confirmation of my belief that Catullus has introduced the Thessalian name *Cieros* in the song of the Parcae (for the second time, if Meineke is right in his view of LXIV. 37, in the course of the poem) that the word looks like a variation of *Cuarios*, the name of a river which like *Arne* and *Itonus* exists in both regions, Thessaly and Boeotia (Strabo 411.

435). Cuarios with its adjoining Itonus was probably known to Catullus; for he has introduced Itonus in v. 228, and the river in its Aeolic form Coralios was mentioned in an alcaic ode by Alcaeus.

Catull. XXIX. 6—9

Et ille nunc superbus et superfluens
Perambulabit omnium cubilia
Vt albulus columbus aut ydoneus.

Though I am not at all convinced by the arguments of Munro and others against *Adoneus*, or as I would write it preferably *Adonius*, it seems worth while to mention a conj. which the revision of my note on XXVII. 7 suggests to me. It is to write *Thyonius* = Thyoneus, a name of Bacchus.

(1) As regards the *form*, we may infer its existence from *Thyonianus*. It would stand to *Thyoneus*, as Melanthius to Melantheus, Menesthius to Menestheus. Looked at from the palaeographical point of view, the change from *aut tyonius* to *aut ydoneus* would be slight and easy: the *h* would drop out as it has in Met. IV. 13 where Korn's Laurentianus gives *troneus*, i.e. *tioneus*, and in Hor. C. I. 17. 23, where two early Paris MSS (Keller's ϕ and ψ) give *tyoneus*.

(2) The meaning must be partly determined by *Thyonianus* in XXVII. 7. The adj. is there used in the masc. (sc. *οἶνος*) on Greek analogies to express the pure essence of the grape: the idea is of Bacchus, mainly, as the *drinking* god, or perhaps, in a somewhat wider sense, of riotous revel. In XXIX. 7 on the other hand it would mean Bacchus as the *phallic* god, the genius of sexual or animal exuberance, the young seducer against whom no chastity is proof. From this point of view I would compare the proverb *φάλλος τῷ θεῷ· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπονεμόντων ἑνίοις τὰ οἰκεῖα πρόσφορα· ἐπεὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἵστατο ὁ φάλλος* (Leutsch Proverb. Graec. I. 329). Aristophanes in the phallic song which he has introduced in his *Acharnians* speaks of *Φαλῆς ἑταῖρε Βακχίου* and calls him *νυκτοπεριπλάνητε, μοιχέ* (with the former of which words compare Catullus' *perambulabit omnium cubilia*). More closely consonant with the v. of Catullus is the gloss of Hesychius *Θυωνίδας ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ Ῥοδίοις.*

τοὺς συκίνους φάλητας. From which it would appear that Thyonidas was the special Rhodian name of Bacchus; and that as a plural accusative θυωνίδας meant the fig-wood phalli which were commonly used in connexion with Bacchic worship, e.g. in a fragment of Aristophanes (464 c Dindorf) preserved by Dion Chrysostom XXX. p. 31, ὁ κωμικὸς καὶ τοῦτον ἐκέλευσε κατακάειν ἐπὶ φαλήτων συκίνων ἑκκαίδεκα (Meineke Com. Fragm. II. Part I., pp. 469, 470). It would not be inconsonant with this character of Thyoneus, or, as Catullus calls him, Thyonius, that Ovid, where he enumerates the different names by which the God was known, calls him *indetonsus Thyoneus*, the youthful god of locks unshorn (Met. IV. 13). And what words could better describe this young and seductive Bacchus as he exists in numberless works of art (see Roscher's Lexikon) than Catullus' *superbus et superfluens*? or his sauntering confident gait than *perambulabit*?

Catull. LV. 9, 10

Auelte sic ipse flagitabam
Camerium mihi pessimae puellae.

In collating the excellent Ashburnham MS of Orientius' *Commonitorium* (since edited by me in Vol. XVI. of the Vienna Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Tempsky, 1888) I found that in I. 383 *Vindictae studio totas in bella dedisti*, for *in* of the Ashburnham MS Delrio's now lost codex gave *uel*. It occurred to me that this might perhaps have happened in the above-cited v. of Catullus. *Auel* for *Ain*.

Femellas omnes, amice, prendi,
Quas uultu uidi tamen serenas.
'*Ain?*' te sic *usque* flagitabam.
'Camerium mihi, pessimae puellae!'

'I accosted every gay woman I met; but none of them showed any sign of discomposure (as if they knew where Camerius was). 'Do you mean to say so?' (i.e. Are you really going to tell me you do not know where he is) in this way I went on, at every step asking for you. 'It's Camerius I want, you vile wenches.' The change from the singular *Ain* to the plural

puellae is aptly illustrated by Key in his valuable Latin Dictionary, just published, which is specially strong in Plautine and Terentian usages. Key quotes from Liv. x. 25. 6

Ain tandem? num castra uallata non habetis?

with the remark 'where *ain* may be addressed to one person, not, as some assume, to many.' So in the poem of Catullus *Ain?* is of course directed to each *femella* accosted, the whole number (no doubt considerable) in *pessimae puellae.*

Avianus XXIV. 7, 8

Scilicet affirmas pictura teste superbum
Te fieri? extinctam nam docet esse feram.

Perhaps this contains an allusion to a special archaistic use of *superbus* for *mortuus.* Non. 171 *Superbos ueteres mortuos dixerunt. Plautus Amfitrione faciam ego hodie te superbum nisi hinc abis.* This is explained in the immediately following v. (I. i. 202) *Auferere, non abibis, si ego fustem sumpsero,* I will beat you till you lie helpless, and must be carried by others, not being able to use your own legs. The meaning of Avianus would be 'No doubt the picture gives you a right to be proud—the pride of the dead, who cannot walk, and are carried by others.' *Extinctam nam docet esse feram* would then be not a mere expansion of 7, but a direct explanation of the word *superbum,* in this uncommon, but possibly still understood, meaning.

Aristotle Poetics 1454^{b} *τὰ δὲ ἐπίκτητα, καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ σώματι, οἷον οὐλαί, τὰ δὲ ἐκτός, τὰ περιδέραια καὶ οἷον ἐν τῇ Τυροῖ διὰ τῆς σκάφης.*

Margoliouth (Analecta Orientalia, p. 61) gives the following translation from the Arabic version. Alia acquisita, qualia sunt quae corripiuntur manu, uel imponuntur corpori, v. c. torques in collo, ensis in manu.

From this it would seem that the Greek original had not *σκάφης,* but *σπάθης.* It is true that the Scholiast on Lysistr. 138 says Tyro's twin children were exposed *εἰς σκάφη*[1], which if

[1] This is generally altered to *ἐν σκάφῃ.* Plutarch in his life of Romulus, c. 3, says Faustulus placed Romulus and Remus *εἰς σκάφην.*

genuine must mean tubs or vessels of some kind. But this does not much affect the question what the Arabic translator had before him. It is well known to all students of mythology that Theseus discovered himself to be the child of Aegeus by the *μάχαιρα καὶ πέδιλα* which Aegeus had deposited under a rock (*ὑπό τινι πέτρᾳ*, Apollod. III. 15, 7).

Poet. 1456^{b} *καὶ γὰρ τὸ ΓΡ ἄνευ τοῦ Α συλλαβή, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Α οἷον τὸ ΓΡΑ.*

Margoliouth from the Arabic Nam Γ et P sine A non faciunt syllabam, quoniam tantum fiunt syllaba cum A: sed ΓΡΑ syllaba.

This might be a rendering of the Greek words as cited above by the addition of the single word *οὔτε* before *ἄνευ*. 'ΓΡ without A is as distinctly no syllable, as with A it is one.'

Poetics 1459^{a} *ταῦτα ἁρμόττει τῶν ὀνομάτων ὅσοις κἂν ἐν ὅσοις λόγοις τις χρήσαιτο.*

Margoliouth from the Arabic, haec nomina conueniunt quot usurpant homines in uia.

The translator would seem to have read *ἐν ὁδοῖς*.

Poetics 1458^{b}

I do not know whether any one has suggested to read the verse which most editors seem to think was meant to be scanned as a hexameter

οὐκ ἄν γ' ἐράμενος τὸν ἐκείνου ἐλλέβορον,

with *κεράμενος* for *γ' ἐράμενος*, and possibly with *γ'* after *κείνου*, as an *iambic*. I conceive this would be in perfect accord with Aristotle's concise mode of stating one of two things, and leaving the other to be inferred. The words *ἰαμβοποιήσας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ λέξει* certainly make one look for an iambic. The form of the participle *κεράμενος* would seem justified by *κέρωνται*, just as *κρεμάμενος* exists by the side of opt. *κρεμαίμην* and, if the Lexicon is to be trusted, subj. *κρέμωμαι*.

Ibis 475, 6

Vt Macelo rapidis icta est cum coniuge flammis
Sic precor aetherii uindicis igne cadas.

Erwin Rohde in his Griechische Roman, p. 506, note thinks

this Macelo may be the Μακέλλω mentioned by Nonnus in the XVIIIth book of his Dionysiaca, vv. 35—38. The speaker, who is inviting Dionysus to share his hospitality, is quoting instances when mortals have in this way entertained gods. Such an instance was the hospitality which Makello offered to Zeus and Apollo.

> Ζῆνα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα μίῃ ξείνισσε Μακέλλω·
> καὶ Φλεγύας ὅτε πάντας ἀνερρίζωσε θαλάσσῃ
> νῆσον ὅλην τριόδοντι διαῤῥήξας Ἐνοσίχθων
> ἀμφοτέρας ἐφύλαξε καὶ οὐ πρήνιξε τριαίνῃ.

Rohde, comparing with these vv. the statement of Salvagnius' scholiast on Ib. 475 *Nicander dicit Macelon filiam Damonis cum sororibus fuisse. harum hospitio Iupiter susceptus cum Thelonios quorum hic Damo princeps erat corrumpentes uenenis successus omnium fructuum fulmine interficeret seruauit eos* (f. *eas*) *sed Macelo cum uiro propter uiri nequitiam periit*, conceives the stories to be identical as regards Macelo, though the locale is shifted by the scholiast from the Thessalian or Boeotian Phlegyae to the unknown Thelonii. The less corrupt scholion however of the Phillipps MS substitutes the Telchines for these latter; and to the Telchines alone can the description *corrumpentes uenenis successus omnium fructuum* apply, as the passages quoted from Strab. 654, Diod. v. 55, Nonn. XIV. 36 in my edition prove.

Let us look at the four vv. of Nonnus, XVIII. 35—38. I have printed them from Köchly's best MS (ed. Teubner, 1857). Köchly indeed supposes and marks a lacuna after v. 35: and changes ἀμφοτέρας to ἀμφοτέρους in 38. This is hardly necessary. I would translate them as they stand in the MS thus.

'Makello entertained Zeus and Apollo at once. And when Poseidon uprooted all the Phlegyae and plunged them in the sea, rending asunder with his triple prong their whole island, he saved both the sisters and did not hurl them headlong with his trident.'

Rohde points out that Nonnus in thus describing the Phlegyae as islanders follows Euphorion of Chalcis, as Servius informs us on Aen. VI. 618. *Hi* (*Phlegyae*) *namque secundum Euphorionem populi insulares fuerunt, satis in deos impii et*

sacrilegi: unde iratus Neptunus percussit tridenti eam partem insulae, quam Phlegyae tenebant, et omnes obruit. More ordinarily they were identified with the inhabitants of the Thessalian *Gyrton*, e.g. by Strabo 442 *τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Γυρτωνίους Φλεγύας πρότερον ἐκάλουν ἀπὸ Φλεγύου τοῦ Ἰξίονος ἀδελφοῦ*, cf. Strab. fr. 14, 16. Steph. Byz. *Γύρτων πόλις τῆς Θεσσαλίας καὶ Περραιβίας, ἣν Ὅμηρος Γυρτώνην καλεῖ ὡς Ἰτώνην καὶ Ἰτῶνα. ἀπὸ Γυρτῶνος τοῦ Φλεγύου ἀδελφοῦ, ὅς τις αὐτὴν ἔκτισεν.* Others again, as Ephorus cited in the Schol. Ven. on Il. XIII. 301, placed them in the Daulian region of Phocis; the verb *φλεγυᾶν = ὑβρίζειν* was Phocian.

Mythologically, the name Phlegyae, as well as that of the individual Phlegyas, is associated with *impiety*. Hesych. *Φλεγύαι ἔθνος ὑβριστικὸν καὶ ἀσεβές.* Schol. Ven. Il. XIII. 301 *φλεγυᾶν τὸ ὑβρίζειν.* Pherecydes stated that they burnt the temple of Apollo at Delphi (Schol. Il. l. c.). Another scholion on the same v. of Homer *ἢ ἐὲ μετὰ Φλεγύας μεγαλήτορας* defines them as *τοὺς ἐν Φωκίδι ἀθέους Γορτυνίους καλουμένους, οἳ ἐνέπρησαν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος*, in which they are called not Gyrtonians, but Gortynians, cf. K. O. Müller Orchomenos, p. 188. Pausanias, who calls their country Phlegyantis, and places it in the neighbourhood of the Boeotian Orchomenos, says they were the most war-loving, as well as the most foolhardy of the Greeks; that they marched against the Delphian temple with the object of plundering it, and that they were finally extirpated by continuous lightnings and violent earthquakes (IX. 36) sent by the God. As to Phlegyas, I need only refer to the commentators on Aen. VI. 618. He also is said to have burnt a temple of Apollo, and to have been destroyed by lightning.

Macelo or Makello then, if a Phlegyan, belonged to a race not only impious, but traditionally punished by divine interventions, lightning, earthquake, submersion in the sea, &c. So far this quite agrees with the distich of the Ibis. She and her husband were guilty of the national sin, impiety. They were punished by the divine visitation of lightning. But how is this reconcilable with the statement of Nonnus? For in those verses Makello is not only not impious, but specially pious: is

not only not punished for impiety, but rewarded for religious attentions to the gods. In the destruction which fell on all her race, she and one other woman were spared, and only they.

If then, with Rohde, we suppose that Salvagnius' and the Phillipps Scholia refer to the same woman who is mentioned by Nonnus, which seems probable from the fact stated in them of *Macelo and her sisters showing hospitality to Jupiter* (an out of the way circumstance this which cannot lightly be set aside), we are led to the conclusion that the fiery punishment which befel Macelo and her husband, as recorded in the Ibis, must be *later* than the destruction of the Phlegyae as described by Nonnus, in which Makello with one other female alone was spared. In this I see no impossibility; though it can hardly have been known to Nonnus. But there is a difficulty in harmonizing Nonnus' exceptional preservation *of Makello and her one companion* with the Scholiast's exceptional preservation of all Macelo's sisters *as well as Macelo herself.* Or might we represent it thus? Macelo and her sister, or, as another account, sisters, were spared in the general destruction of their country: but for a subsequent act of sacrilege, seemingly committed by or at least with her husband, Macelo was, like him, consumed by lightning?

What then, we have still to ask, was this act of sacrilege which brought down on this blameless, nay actually pious, heroine so marked a visitation of the gods? The Salvagnian Scholion will here come to our aid.

Sed Macelo cum uiro propter uiri nequitiam periit.

Like Atalanta, as recorded by Ovid Met. x. 695 sqq. *Illic* (in a cavern adjoining a temple of the Magna Mater) *concubitus intempestiua cupido Occupat Hippomenen,* we may suppose Macelo to have yielded to her husband's concupiscence in some consecrated place: cf. Ib. 457, 8 *Inque pecus subito Magnae uertare parentis Victor ut est celeri uictaque uersa pede.* That this offence of sexual sacrilege was not unfrequent in antiquity is proved not only by these and similar mythical instances, but by the indubitable witness of inscriptions. In the last No. of the Journal of Hellenic Studies, VIII. pp. 376—380, Mr D. G.

Hogarth publishes some new inscriptions, in which Apollo Lermenus is stated to have punished a husband for having intercourse with his wife within a sacred precinct, and similarly a wife for the same offence. That this, marital intercourse on holy ground, was the offence alluded to in both distichs of the Ibis, is probable from the combined mention in both of the husband and wife, as would be natural if some sexual crime was in question.

I may remark that these inscriptions are as yet imperfectly emended, and that some very obvious corrections have escaped Mr Hogarth and Prof. Ramsay. Thus in no. 16. 6 where the editors give *μηδεὶς ἄναγνον ἀναβῆται ἐπὶ το χωρίον* the ductus of the letters points rather to ΑΝΑΓΙΟΝ, which I regard as = *ἀναγέων* either gen. plur. of *ἀναγής*, cf. Hesych. *ἀναγὴς ἐναγὴς ἢ βέβηλος*, or a participle, 'in a state of impurity.' The short *ο* has been carved for *ω* by mistake, as *vice versa* ΧΩΡΙΩΝ for ΧΩΡΙΟΝ in line 10. It seems too pretty clear that the word in line 9, which the editors transliterate doubtfully as *ἠκηνησάμην*, is really ΑΗΚΗΝΣΑΜΗΝ, an unaugmented aor. of *ληκάω*, with an epenthetic *ν*, 'I was guilty of lechery.'

Auson. Epigr. VIIII. Schenkl (p. 197).

In the MSS the name of the *uxor moecha* described in this epigram as poisoning her husband is *Eumpina*. This is I think not Eunapia (Scaliger) nor Euripyla (Peiper) nor Euripina (Schenkl) but *Eunipina*, a somewhat barbarous compound of *εὐνὴ πεινῆν*.

In the following passages of Pliny and Varro I seem to detect a quotation. Plin. XI. 210 *Volua eiecto partu melior quam edito, eiecticia uocatur illa, haec porcaria, primiparae suis optima, contra effetis.*

The words

> *Haec porcaria, primiparae suis optima, contra*
> *Effetis*

form a hexameter fragment quite in the style of Lucilius. Varro R. R. II. 2. 1 *Sed quoniam nos nostram pensum absoluimus ac limitata est pecuaria quaestio, nunc rursus uos reddite nobis, o Epirotae, de una quaque re ut uideamus quid pastores a Per-*

gamide Maledoue potis sint. The peculiar oddity of the diction from *nunc rursus* to *potis sint* seems to me unmistakable. It appears to be an adaptation, i.e. a quotation slightly altered, but retaining the metrical outline with sufficient clearness.

nunc rursus uos reddite nobis
O Epirotae, rem unam quamque ut uideamus[1],
Quid pastor de Pergamidis (?) *Maledoue potissit.*

The last line is of course purely conjectural; but the first word was probably *quid*, the last two certainly *potis sint* or *potis sit.* Prof. J. E. B. Mayor has noticed a similar hexameter, very Lucilian in look, in the scholion to Juv. XIV. 208 'assa nutrix dicitur quae lac non praestat infantibus, sed solum diligentiam et munditiam adhibet: *nutricula sicca uetusta infantibus monstrat,*' and I see that Bücheler inclines to think this a fragment of Lucilius, in his new edition of the scholia.

Hygin. Fab. 274. *Antiqui autem nostri in lectis tricliniaribus in fulcris capita asellorum uite alligata habuerunt significantes suauitatem inuenisse.*

Read *significantes essu uitem inuenisse.* This is clear from the words *capita asellorum uite alligata;* the *head* of the ass was represented on dining-couches bound with a vine-branch because the animal had, by *eating* this tree, called the attention of mankind to it, and in this sense *discovered* it.

Heraclitus fr. XXII.

Bywater gives this from Plutarch as follows. Πυρὸς ἀντα-μείβεται πάντα καὶ πῦρ ἁπάντων, ὥσπερ χρυσοῦ χρήματα, καὶ χρημάτων χρυσός. This has a very metrical look. The following hendecasyllables would give the words an epigrammatic form.

χρυσοῦ χρήματα, χρημάτων δὲ χρυσός,
πυρὸς δ' ἀντὶ τὰ πάντα, πῦρ δ' ἁπάντων.

[1] *ut uideamus* at the end of a verse is Lucretian, e.g. IV. 633 *Nunc aliis alius qui sit cibus ut uideamus*, where however both Lachmann and Munro alter the reading. Is it possible that Varro in the above-cited verses has given in the obscure name *Maledo* another form of the word which the MSS of Lucretius have preserved as *Alidensia* IV. 1130? Aledus or Maledus would seem to be an Epirotic township, possibly famous for its fine *wool;* interdum in *pallam* atque Alidensia Ciaque uertunt. Cf. the name Melotis, a district of Epirus, no doubt from its flocks of sheep (μῆλα).

Even more distinctly metrical is fr. XXV, which Bywater gives from Maximus Tyrius thus: *Ζῇ πῦρ τὸν γῆς θάνατον, καὶ ἀὴρ ζῇ τὸν πυρὸς θάνατον· ὕδωρ ζῇ τὸν ἀέρος θάνατον, γῆ τὸν ὕδατος.* The metre here is obviously anapaestic.

ζῇ δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ τὸν γῆς θάνατον,
θάνατον δὲ ζῇ τὸν πυρὸς ἀήρ,
ζῇ δὲ τὸν ἀέρος ὕδωρ θάνατον,
γῆ τὸν ἐκείνου.

If, as seems possible, we may give to *ὕδωρ* the quantity it would be likely to have in philosophical poetry.

Xenoph. Hist. Graec. II. 3. 31 *ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἁρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων.*

Mr Marshall in his *Cruces and Criticisms* suggests *ἀποβάλλεται* for *ἀποβλέπει*, rightly, I think, as regards the meaning; but *ἀποβέβληται* would be grammatically more idiomatic, and decidedly nearer to the letters of *ἀποβλέπει*. The passage of Plutarch quoted by Zeune, Praecept. reip. gerendae, p. 824 B, would quite agree with this reconstitution of the passage, *δεῖ τὸν Θηραμένους κόθορνον ὑποδούμενον ἀμφοτέροις ὁμιλεῖν καὶ μηδετέροις προστίθεσθαι.*

ROBINSON ELLIS.

ADDENDUM TO NOTE ON LUCR. IV. 1130.

Two other points may be urged in defence of my conjecture *aledensia*.

First, there is nothing strange in the double form Maledus, Aledus. Such double names, one beginning with a vowel, aspirated or unaspirated, one with a consonant, are of frequent occurrence. Egesta and Segesta, Halmydessus and Salmydessus, Alinza and Palinza, Alybes and Chalybes, Amathea and Psamathe, Argaphia and Gargaphia, Arbita and Barbitani, Amestratos and Mytistratos, Mardi and Amardi; and the same thing is indicated by MS fluctuations of spelling, such as Aleos Maleos, Androkleidas Mandrokleidas, Haero Maero.

Secondly, if we interpret the v. of Lucretius in reference to fine wool, we can explain *Cia*, without having recourse to the violent hypothesis of Lachmann, that it was a mistake for *Coa*. For Aelian H. A. XVI. 32 tells us that there was a Cean breed of lambs of conspicuous beauty, which sold for extravagantly high prices. *γίνεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἄρνας τὴν ὥραν διαπρεπεῖς, καὶ πιπράσκεσθαι οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἑτέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ σοβαρωτέρᾳ τῇ τιμῇ.* From the wool of these, I should suppose, was made the *delicatior uestis* of women which Pliny, on the authority of *Varro*, says originated from Ceos IV. 63.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

THE RIDDLE IN VERG. ECL. III. 104, 5.

Dic quibus in terris—et eris mihi magnus Apollo—
Tris pateat caeli spatium non amplius ulnas.

The answer to this riddle is, I believe, a fact of history. Both Lucan and Valerius Maximus record it, Luc. v. 120 sqq., Val. Max. I. 8. 10. I give the story in the words of the latter.

Atque hoc quidem hominis, et casu: illud tantum non ore ipsius Apollinis editum, quo Appii interitum ueridica Pythicae uaticinationis fides praecurrit. Is bello ciui'i, quo se Cn. Pompeius a Caesaris concordia pestifero sibi nec reipublicae utili consilio abruperat, euentum grauissimi motus explorare cupiens, uiribus imperii, namque Achaiae praecrat, antistitem Delphicae cortinae in intimam sacri specus partem descendere coegit, unde ut certae consulentibus sortes petuntur, ita nimius diuini spiritus haustus reddentibus pestifer exsistit. Igitur impulsu concepti numinis instincta uirgo, horrendo sono uocis, Appio inter obscuras uerborum ambages fata cecinit. nihil enim, inquit, ad te hoc, Romane, bellum: Euboeae Coela obtinebis. At is ratus consiliis se Apollinis moneri, ne illi discrimini interesset, in eam regionem secessit, quae inter Rhamnunta nobilem Attici soli partem, Carystumque Chalcidico freto uicinam interiacens, Coelae Euboeae nomen obtinet, ubi ante Pharsalicum certamen morbo consumptus, praedictum a deo locum sepultura possedit.

Appius Claudius Censorinus (I follow the account given by the Bern Scholia on Luc. v. 68), a Pompeian whom his chief had commissioned to secure Greece for the party, having determined to test the powers of the Delphian oracle, some short time before Pharsalia visited the spot, with his own hand forced

the Pythia to descend into the cavern and then obtained from her, not the answer he desired, what was to be the issue of the war, but a personal intimation that the war in no way concerned him and that he was destined to be master of the hollows (Coela) of Euboea. He accordingly withdrew from the contest and retired to the region indicated by the Pythia, with the hope, Lucan says, of making himself master of Chalcis (*subsidere regnum Chalcidos Euboicae uana spe rapte parabas* v. 226—7). Valerius and Lucan agree in placing the Coela on the west coast of Euboea, between Carystos and the Attic town Rhamnus, at no great distance from the Chalcidian strait. Here Appius died and was buried.

It is to this grave of Appius at Coela that I believe Virgil to allude in the distich quoted above. The riddle turns on the similarity of sound in *caeli spatium* and *coelis spatium*. To the ear the question suggests 'where does a space *of sky* spread out not more than three ells?' To the initiated it means 'where is the land in which there is a space *at Coela* that spreads not more than three ells?' The answer of course applies to either: 'the grave of Appius in Euboea'; for (1) *tris ulnae* would be room enough for a not very large grave, (2) if we suppose the grave placed at some part of the coast where the rocks rose precipitously to the sky, surrounding and enclosing it completely, it would look up to a space of sky not wider than three ells.

This explanation quite accords with the time of the composition of Ecl. III., which can hardly be later than B.C. 40. Appius died *before* Pharsalia, i.e. before 48 B.C. The story therefore would still be quite new when Virgil introduced it in the Eclogue.

Further the words *et eris mihi magnus Apollo* have thus a peculiar significance. 'I shall look upon you as the great seer Apollo,' i.e. as far-seeing as the Delphian Apollo who prophesied the death and burial of Appius at Coela.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

HORACE, ODES, IV. 8. *Donarem pateras.*

This poem, not in other respects very remarkable, has attained an unhappy notoriety in criticism, as presenting almost the only conspicuous difficulty in the text of the *Odes*. I refer of course to the lines

> non incisa notis marmora publicis,
> per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis
> post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae
> reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,
> non incendia Karthaginis impiae,
> eius, qui domita nomen ab Africa
> lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
> laudes quam Calabrae Pierides; neque,
> si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
> mercedem tuleris. quid foret Iliae
> Mavortisque puer, si taciturnitas
> obstaret meritis invida Romuli?

The problem is briefly this. To a plain understanding the author here clearly implies, that the same *Scipio Africanus* who burnt Carthage was celebrated in the poems of the Calabrian Ennius, that is, he confuses the *Major* and the *Minor*. That this is the natural *prima facie* meaning no one has disputed. I do not think it necessary to consider the attempts, though some of them very curious, which have been made to show that, if we scan the text like a lawyer rebutting an *innuendo*, the author might conceivably get a verdict. We may take it in the alternative: either (1) he made the mistake, or (2) he did not see, and was not told, that he must seem to have

made it, or (3) he saw this, but did not care. It is difficult to say which supposition is least consistent with what we know of Horace and his work. And the strong suspicion, that some one else has meddled here, rises to something like certainty when it is observed (as first by Meineke) that every Ode but this (34 lines) is divisible into quatrains, although more than twenty others are written in a metre of couplets or single lines. The coincidence is generally allowed to be almost decisive; and we may perhaps assume, that if there had been found here *a couplet*, the omission of which would remove the historical error, and for the insertion of which a good plain reason could be given, that couplet would have been pronounced spurious by general consent. But there is no such couplet; and so the question becomes again completely dark. The light, which I hope to throw upon it, will come chiefly from the side of metre.

An opening in this direction was attempted by Bentley, who rejected, for want of the regular caesura, *v.* 17, *non incendia Karthaginis impiae*. In itself the reason is not adequate: if Horace could write once in a way *dum flagrantia de-torquet ad oscula*, he might once have gone one step further. Nor does Bentley explain why the verse should have been inserted: and besides we now see that the omission of one verse would not satisfy the conditions. But if we look a little further, we shall find that the metre gives a different report, both as to the existence of an interpolation and as to the extent of it.

The Fourth Book of the *Odes*, among its many broad differences from the original Three, exhibits a far more severe treatment of metrical irregularities. To show this contrast, which is little noticed even in the best editions, let us compare the statistics (A)

> of the Fourth Book (minus the lines which contain this strange allusion to the Scipios, *vv.* 15—20), in the whole 576 lines,

and (B)

> of 576 lines in the same metres taken from various parts of the original Three[1].

[1] As the nearest metrical equivalent to IV. 7, I took part of I. 7. To make sure that no mistake was incurred by the choice of the particular 576 lines,

And first, as to the admission, at the end of the verse, of a short syllable *in arsi* (i.e. taking the beat of the metre), as for example in

> nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae
> nec dirum Hannibalem nec Siculum *maré*
> *Poeno* purpureum sanguine *mollibús*
> *aptari* citharae modis:

or as in

> ut barbarorum Claudius *agminá*
> *ferrata.*

For the sake of simplicity we will take no account of anything except the structure of the verses, including for example in our list of such licenses

> nardo vina *mereberé.*
> *nardi* parvus onyx etc.,

without regard to the full stop and the division of the stanzas. By going into detail we might easily sharpen our contrast, but for the present purpose it is not worth while. Counting thus, we find the numbers to be

A[1]	B
11	30

Secondly, as to hiatus between the lines. Here again for simplicity we will ignore all minor distinctions, such as the quantity of the vowel, the punctuation, etc., and include, notwithstanding the stop and division of stanzas, even such cases as

> procidit late posuitque collum in
> pulvere *Teucro.*
> *ille* mordaci velut icta ferro etc.

This gives us the result

A[2]	B
12	27

I took also the statistics for the whole of the Three Books and for each separately, and these are of some independent interest. See hereafter.

[1] IV. 4.9, 4.14, 4.54, 5.6, 5.10, 5.35, 7.22, 9.25, 12.16, 12.19, 14.29.

[2] IV. 1.16, 1.18, 1.20, 1.24, 1.27, 4.4, 6.12, 8.24, 10.2, 11.12, 13.1, 15.10.

and even these figures do not represent the true difference. For on looking at the list A (see p. 147, note 2), we see that five examples, that is nearly half, lie close together in the first poem, the remaining 536 lines of the book having only seven examples between them. This strange inequality of distribution calls for an explanation, and on turning to the first poem the cause is at once apparent. The most striking point in it is the carefully studied elision near the close;

> cur facunda parum decoro
> inter verba cadit lingua silentio?

In this, the only elision of a long vowel between verse and verse in the whole of the *Odes*, the metre of course reflects the sense. The harsh elision is itself a 'parum decorum inter verba silentium'. For this effect it is essential that the elision should appear unnatural, which it will best do if the ear is previously accustomed to the contrary effect of hiatus, as in *vv.* 16—27, *e.g.*

> laudantes pede candido
> in morem Salium ter quatiunt humum.

In this poem therefore hiatus is not a *license* at all, but a device, and for our present purpose we must subtract from Book IV. the first poem, and from the other side equivalents in the same metre. The figures then become

A	B
7	25

Thirdly, let us look at elision. Of elision generally the Fourth Book is much more sparing than the Three, and approaches the standard of the *Carmen Saeculare*, in which both hiatus and elision almost vanish[1]. But for the present we are concerned only with an exceptional kind of elision, that at the caesura, as in

> mos et lex maculos*um* edomuit nefas—
> regum timendor*um* in proprios greges—
> Pegasus terren*um* equitem gravatus.

[1] The elision of *que* and the fixed combination of *est* in *vestrum est*, *dictum est* are hardly noticeable. Except these there is but one, *C. S.* 71 *puerorum amicas*.

For this elision the figures are

A[1]	B
3	7

Taking now the three figures together, we have as the total of metrical irregularities of all the three kinds

A	B
11 + 7 + 3 = 21	30 + 25 + 7 = 62

or, to put the thing in words, the work of the Fourth Book is about three times as severe as that of the first Three; and this, I venture to say after a careful study, will be found in whatever way the test be taken, certainly not an exaggerated statement of the difference. Now with these facts before us let us look at our passage again:

non celeres fugae
reiectaeque retror*sum* *Han*nibalis minae,
non incendia *Karthag*inis impi*ae*,
*e*ius, qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratus red*i*it, clarius indicant
laudes quam Calabrae Pierides; ne*qué*
si chartae etc.

Five metrical licences of various kinds (and therefore clearly without purpose) within five lines:—for we must add the hiatus ⏑⏑, of which this is, I believe, the sole example. It will be difficult to show that Horace ever thought such work good enough. When he wrote Book IV. he had long utterly renounced such indulgence. If the rest of the Book were so written, our examples would be counted by hundreds. The most irregular pieces in Book I.[2] offer no parallel to it, and for the place where it stands it is quite unfit.

As to the language of the passage there is not much new to say. The use of *eius* (here only and in the almost equally

[1] IV. 5.13, 5.22, 11.26.

[2] I. 3, is much the most irregular of all, at least in appearance. How far this may be intentional we cannot here consider. I will add the approximate proportions of these irregularities for the Books separately: I—17·5 per 100 lines; II—12·5; III—10; IV—4·5; *Carm. S.*—1.

suspicious III. 11. 18[1]) has been noted by all since Bentley, but not always so as to put the point quite fairly. It is not the use of the *genitive case* which is noticeable, nor is the emphasis material. Nowhere in all his lyrics, the *Epodes* included, does Horace use, with or without emphasis, any part of the common pronoun *is*, easily found in his other writings or in any others. Only in these two places, and it is a most remarkable accident. Something might be said on the plural *fugae* and on the poetical quality of *lucrari*. We might wonder to see the poet so pompous in praise of epitaphs, and so very modest in praise of literature. If an inscription can restore the dead to life, it is hard to see why the 'gift' of the poet should be particularly precious. Should we express our appreciation of the *Odes* by saying that they contribute to the fame of Augustus 'not less' than the *Monumentum Ancyranum*? We might admire again the terseness of 'vita redit *post mortem*', the felicitous arrangement of 'bonis post mortem ducibus' (meaning apparently 'leaders good after death' or 'good men who become leaders after death'), and above all the riches of the *Gradus ad Parnassum* as displayed in 'Calabrae Pierides'. No doubt *Pierides* is a 'synonym' for *Musae*; but it is none the less a local name. The Calabrian Muses, it might be supposed, were the Muses not of Pieria but of Calabria, and the daughters not of Pieros but of Calaber—or however the eponymous hero of Calabria may have been called. 'Sicelides Musae' is sense: but could Virgil possibly have written 'Pierides Siculae'? It is of course good enough for a writer who confuses the Scipios. However these are arguments of taste, and we need not press them. Only let the experiment be tried of constructing such an indictment against any equal piece of the Book (or indeed of the *Odes*): and let us abide by the result.

But now let us recall Meineke's 'law of quatrains', which seemed to suggest that the poem is too long by two lines. To be accurate, we should say in algebraic language 'too long by $4n + 2$ lines'. We have seen that the interpolation must be larger than 2 lines. Let us try 6; thus

[1] The stanza is declared spurious by almost universal consent.

non incisa notis *marmora* publicis
per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis.
si *chartae* sileant quod bene feceris,
mercedem tuleris? quid foret Iliae
Mavortisque puer, etc.

Not what the people can grave upon marble *is the means whereby the good return to breathing life. If* paper *tell nothing of thy good deeds, wilt thou have had thy reward? What now would be the son of Ilia and Mars etc.* Stones, that is, wear away at last and leave no trace; the 'inscriptions' of Romulus are gone long ago; it is the living speaking page, the literary monument perishable in appearance yet 'more lasting than bronze', which alone can give a true immortality.—If we ask why into this simple antithesis should have been thrust the wedge we see, the answer is to be found in the importance of the punctuation. Restore the ancient writing by removing the stop at *bonis* and the note of interrogation at *tuleris*, and we can easily understand why to the author of the inserted verses, and indeed to readers much more competent than he, the sense should have seemed incomplete. The poet is not to blame; but it is quite likely that beyond his intimate circle he was scarcely ever correctly understood, and that in the very first 'complete edition' after his death the supposed lacuna was filled up. The editor should however have known that not he nor any man could put six undistinguishable lines into the Fourth Book of the *Odes* of Horace.

A. W. VERRALL.

158 sqq. Sed summis si forte putas concrescere caulis
Tantum opus *ex* subitis ali*menti incursibus*, ora
Quod patula in promptu cernis vastosque recessus
(cf. Sen. N. Qu. VI. 20: potest terram movere *impressio* spiritus: fortasse enim aer *extrinsecus alio intrante* aere agitatur).

162 sqq. Namque imis quaecunque *vigent* in hiatibus, omnes
En sursum introitu *assiliunt ostio*que patenti
Con*sertae* languent vires (= vires ab infimo editae et in quantum potuit elatae (Sen. N. Qu. VI. 13) omnes in ipso ostio consertae, dum alter ventus alterum premit, languent).

165 sqq. Quippe ubi quod teneat ventos *angat*que morantes
In vacuo defit, *cursant quan*tumque profundi *est*,
Explicat errantes, sed in ipso limine tardant (tard. = *βραδύνειν* Schaef. Long. p. 425. Plin. N. H. XI. 27 tardantis sine clementia puniunt).

168. Angustis *superest* turb*a*ri in faucibus illos (ut Stat. Silv. IV. i, 40 cf. Heins. Ov. Met. I. 700 p. 84).

171 sqq. — — quassa *boatu*
Fundamenta solo trepidant urbesque caducae
Mille: nec est aliud, si fas est credere, mundum
Venturum antiquam *in* faciem, veracius omen.

174 sqq. Introrsus cessante solo trahit undique *rimas*
Aetna: *aevi* manifesta fides et proxima vero est.
Non *vili* duce me occultas scrutabere causas.
(Ducem se profitetur scriptor non vilem sive non

vulgarem ut Nep. Datam. 3, 4 Leid. non vilis Ammian. Marc. XIX. 9. 5 ideo ut vilis neglectus. Cort. Luc. v. 263.)

176. Occurrent oculis ipsae cogentque *videri.*

178 sqq. Plurima namque patent *iris* spiracula *montis*:
Hunc vasti *terebrant* aditus *vergun*tque profundo:
Porrigit hinc *actus* penitus *quum* exaestuat ultra.

181 sq. discordiaque ingens
*Intra*t opus: *flectun*tque *apices* mediumque *coruscant.*

184 sq. Haec op*era est* visenda sacri faciesque *modus*que,
Haec *iris* sedes tantarumque area rerum est.

194. — — succurrat *in artis* (= Sil. VI. 45. Manil. IV. 570).

212. Hae causae *exspiranda serunt* incendia montis.

213 sq. Spiritus *insta*t *agens*, nomen languentibus aere:
Nam *proprie* ha*udqua*quam *pars* est violentia flammae.

226 sq. Nosse fidem rerum dubiasque exquirere causas
Ingen*io inservante* caputque attollere caelo.

228 sqq. Solis scire modum, *ut*, quanto minor orbita lunae est,
Haec brevior *cursu* bis senos pervolet orbes,
Annuus ille meet.

234. — quaeve *suos curvent* incondita *motus.*

237. Nubila cur *Phaeo* terris denuntiet imbres.

247. *Qua noxae* Orion, *qua* Sirius excubet index.

248. Et quaecunque *nitent* tanto miracula mundo.

251. — — divina est animi ac *fecunda* voluptas.

255 sqq. *Iam quam* mortalis reses! ecquae amentia major?
In Iovis errantem regno perquirere *divos,*
Tantum opus ante pedes *transcursu adprendere seque est.*

260 (268 Wernsd.) — — nunc aurea vena (ut Sil. I. 242 al.).

262 (255 W.) — — *censum*que professae.

269 sqq. Ari*dior retinens* oleae, sucosior ulmis
Grata: leves cruciant animos et *pectora* curae,
Horrea uti *satura et* tumeant ut dolia musto.

273 sq. Sic avi*di* semper *quaestus. Est* cari*us* i*stis*:
Implendus sibi quisque bonis est artibus: illae
Sunt animi fruges.

282. Unde reperta quies et *nullo* foedere pax est.
335 sqq. *Illic* obscura *superat* caligine nubes
Pigraque (*diffuso torvum* stupet *horri*da vultu)
Prospectat sublimis opus vastosque recessus.
337 sq. Non illam *veget* Aetna nec ullo intercipit *actu*:
Obsequitur quocunque iubet levis aura *rotat*que.

Veget in contraria sententia positum atque *intercipit* ut Enn. Ann. 477 Vulcanum ventus vegebat. Com. II. p. 153 Aequora salsa veges ingentibus ventis.

ROBERT UNGER,
Halle.

LUCAN III 559—560.

Paterisne acies errare profundo,
Artibus et certas pelagi?

I hasten to admit my error, pointed out by Mr Haskins, in taking *certas* as an adjective, and to withdraw the emendation which I proposed on the strength of it. I was, I find, misled by one of the *scholia* printed by Weber. *Profundi* for *profundo* was a misprint.

III 481.

Sed pondere solo
Contenti nudis evolvunt saxa lacertis.

Devolvunt seems to me to be required for *evolvunt:* compare Aen. II 448—9

Auratasque trabes, veterum decora alta parentum
Devolvunt.

The corruption, if such it be, is exactly parallel to that of *derigit* into *erigit* in VII 139. I am indeed disposed to think that both passages support Wordsworth's correction *det* for *et* in IX 568.

Charisius p. 105 K.

Φυλακτήριον quod Graeci appellant amuletum Latine dicimus. Nam et Varro divinarum XIII ita dixit, sive a molliendo id est infringendo vim mali, sive ab aemulatione. For *aemulatione* I am inclined to conjecture *amolitione: amuletum* might naturally be derived by an ancient Latin scholar from *mollio* or *amolior;* but I do not see the connection between it and *aemulatio.*

Caper p. 114 Keil.

Segnis insignis. Read *segnis, sine igne,* the conventional ancient etymology of *segnis.*

Glossae Nominum p. 15 Löwe.

Angustator, angustiam patiens. Read *angustiam faciens.*

Ib. p. 47. *Ferumen, acer.* Read *aciarium.* Gloss. Philox. give *aciarium στόμωμα, ferrumen στόμωμα.*

P. 50. *Gavus, servus, rusticus.* Read *Davus.*

P. 51. *Giler, genus ligni.* Read (from Gloss. Epinal.) *siler, genus ligni.*

P. 61. *Lammeum, tincturi creoci.* Read *flammeum, tincturae croceae.*

Gloss. Epinal. p. 6 A 12. *Busta incissa arbor ramis.* Read *busta incensa. Arbor remus.*

Ib. p. 10 A 14. *fanticus quive templum diu deserit.* Read *fanaticus qui templo diu deservit.*

Ib. p. 11 E 5. *iasytrosin. syriam.* Read εἰς Σύρους, *in Syriam.*

H. NETTLESHIP.

LAEDERE NUMEN.

THE words *quo numine laeso* in Aen. 1 8 would have occasioned less difficulty to the commentators than they have done, if it had been remembered that *numen* in this context is apparently used for the presence of a deity as indicated by some sign, whether that sign be an image, a vision, or anything else. Lucretius says (6 68 foll.)

> *Quae nisi respuis ex animo longeque remittis*
> *dis indigna putare, alienaque pacis eorum,*
> *delibata deum per te tibi numina sancta*
> *saepe oberunt: non quo violari summa deum vis*
> *possit, ut ex ira poenas petere inbibat acris,*
> *sed quia tute tibi placida cum pace quietos*
> *constitues magnos irarum volvere fluctus,*
> *nec delubra deum placido cum pectore adibis,*
> *nec de corpore quae sancto simulacra feruntur*
> *in mentes hominum divinae nuntia formae,*
> *suscipere haec animi tranquilla pace valebis.*

Here the *delibatio numinum* seems to consist in the wrong interpretation of those signs of the divine nature which philosophy reveals; a mistake to be punished by the incapacity of joining in worship or approaching a temple with a mind rightly attuned. In Aen. 2 183

> *Hanc pro Palladio moniti, pro numine laeso,*
> *effigiem statuere,*

the *laesio numinis* is the violation of the sacred image. Horace at the beginning of his fifteenth Epode writes

Nox erat, et caelo fulgebat luna sereno
inter minora sidera,
cum tu, magnorum numen laesura deorum,
in verba iurabas mea.

The passage gains immensely in poetical meaning if we suppose the *numen deorum* to be the visible moon and stars: *nocte quidem, sed luna videt, sed sidera testes Intendunt oculos*, as Juvenal has it. In Livy 2 36 4 Titus Latinius, who has treated a vision with contempt, is asked *satin magnam spreti numinis haberet mercedem?* But the wide field which may be covered by the expression is best indicated by Ovid, Her. 2 31 foll. (referred to, but not explained, by Orelli on Hor. l. c.).

Iura, fides ubi nunc, commissaque dextera dextrae,
quique erat in falso plurimus ore deus?
promissus socios ubi nunc Hymenaeus in annos,
qui mihi coniugii sponsor et obses erat?
per mare, quod totum ventis agitatur et undis,
per quod saepe ieras, per quod iturus eras,
perque tuum mihi iurasti, nisi fictus et ille est,
concita qui ventis aequora mulcet, avum,
per Venerem nimiumque mihi facientia tela,
altera tela arcus, altera tela faces,
Iunonemque, toris quae praesidet alma maritis,
et per taediferae mystica sacra deae,
si de tot laesis sua numina quisque deorum
vindicet, in poenas non satis unus eris.

Here the *numina* are the name of a god on the lips, the angry sea, the weapons of Venus, the sacred things of Ceres. I would therefore suggest that *quo numine laeso impulerit* means *what sign of her deity had been slighted that she compelled*, &c.

H. NETTLESHIP.

ΔΕΙΠΝΟΝ AND ΔΟΡΠΟΝ.

THE Homeric meals have been copiously discussed by various writers, especially Brosin (De Cenis Homericis) and Buchholz (Homerische Realien, II. 180 seqq.), but there are still one or two points which require to be cleared up.

There are three names for meals mentioned in the Poems:—*ἄριστον*, *δεῖπνον*, and *δόρπον*. The term *ἄριστον* occurs only twice.

(i) Il. XXIV. 124 *ἐσσυμένως ἐπένοντο καὶ ἐντύνοντο ἄριστον.*
(ii) Od. XVI. 2 *ἐντύνοντο ἄριστον ἅμ' ἠοῖ κειαμένω πῦρ.*

That it is practically identical with *δεῖπνον* there can be little doubt. Buchholz endeavours to make a distinction in the nature of the repast, regarding the *δεῖπνον* as more substantial, but of that there is no proof. *δεῖπνον* is the term used for the morning meal of the Cyclops, which he made on two hapless comrades of Odysseus (Od. IX. 311), before he drove the flocks afield. Next, the passages cited by Buchholz are sufficient to show that the time of the *δεῖπνον* fluctuated from sunrise to noon. It is the meal of the forenoon. Again we have plenty of passages to show that the *δεῖπνον* was taken nearly at noon. For instance, the meal prepared for the reapers, who have been working in the King's Temenos, is called *δεῖπνον* (Il. XVIII. 560), the time called *δείπνηστος* (Od. XVIII. 170) is plainly well advanced in the morning, as the suitors have been amusing themselves with quoit-throwing.

On the other hand the *δόρπον*, called by Aristonicus *ἡ ἑσπερινὴ τροφή* can be shown by quotations to mean any meal between noon and night. It is the meal offered to Priam by

Achilles late on that night on which he ransomed Hector's body (Il. XXIV. 601), whilst it is plain from Od. IV. 786,

ἔνθα δὲ δόρπον ἕλοντο, μένον δ' ἐπὶ ἕσπερον ἐλθεῖν,

that this meal was at times taken very early in the day.

But we next come to a case where the same meal is termed both δεῖπνον and δόρπον. When Telemachus and Peisistratus arrive at Lacedaemon (Od. IV. 1) they find Menelaus giving a marriage feast in honour of his son and daughter.

Menelaus terms it a δεῖπνον (IV. 60–1):

σίτου θ' ἅπτεσθον καὶ χαίρετον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
δείπνου πασσαμένω εἰρησόμεθ', οἵτινές ἐστον.

Then afterwards (l. 213) he calls the meal δόρπον:

δόρπου δ' ἐξαῦτις μνησώμεθα κ.τ.λ.

The repast, it may be said, has been interrupted by a long conversation, and thus it can hardly be regarded as one and the same meal.

This naturally leads us to discuss certain passages where some ancient scholars read δεῖπνον, others δόρπον.

Il. XI. 86.

ἦμος δὲ δρυτόμος περ ἀνὴρ ὡπλίσσατο δεῖπνον
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃσιν, ἐπεί τ' ἐκορέσσατο χεῖρας
τάμνων δένδρεα μακρὰ κ.τ.λ.

Here Zenodotus read δόρπον. That the hour is about midday is evident, as a long series of operations afterwards takes place between the time mentioned and the evening. Zenodotus does not mean then a time near to sundown, but the midday meal, the only question being whether it was before or after noon that the woodcutter stopped. As regards the usual time for labourers to rest, we get good evidence from the word βουλυτός. Mr J. G. Frazer has pointed out that βουλυτός was just a little after midday, as is plain from Il. XVI. 776, and Od. IX. 56 (the latter of which runs:

ὄφρα μὲν ἠὼς ἦν, καὶ ἀέξετο ἱερὸν ἦμαρ—
ἦμος δ' Ἠέλιος μετενίσσετο βουλυτόνδε.)

and Aristophanes Aves 1500. If the ploughman unyoked his team just after midday, the meal then taken would be a δόρπον.

It is natural that the woodcutter would stop at much the same time. Zenodotus regards him as having his meal just at the turn of noon and calls it *δόρπον*, whilst Aristarchus and the others regard it as commencing before noon, and call it *δεῖπνον*.

Again in Il. XI. 726 seqq.

ἔνδιοι ἱκόμεσθ' ἱερὸν ῥόον Ἀλφειοῖο,
ἔνθα Διὶ ῥέξαντες ὑπερμενεῖ ἱερὰ καλὰ,
ταῦρον δ' Ἀλφειῷ, ταῦρον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι,
αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίῃ γλαυκωπίδι βοῦν ἀγελαίην,
δόρπον ἔπειθ' ἑλόμεσθα κατὰ στράτον ἐν τελέεσσι
καὶ κατεκοιμήθημεν ἐν ἔντεσι οἷσιν ἕκαστος.

Here Zenodotus read *δεῖπνον*, which at first sight seems inexplicable until we notice the word *ἔνδιοι*, which means *at midday*. Zenodotus therefore regards the meal as beginning with the slaughter of the victims before noon, and thus spoke of it as *δεῖπνον*, just as Menelaus called his feast even when going on after noon a *δεῖπνον*, referring perhaps to the time of its commencement.

Once more in Od. X. 114–6.

ἡ δ' αἶψ' ἐξ ἀγορῆς ἐκάλει κλυτὸν Ἀντιφατῆα
ὃν πόσιν, ὃς δὴ τοῖσιν ἐμήσατο λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον,
αὐτίχ' ἕνα μάρψας ἑτάρων, ὠπλίσσατο δεῖπνον.

Here again there is an ancient variant *δόρπον*. No doubt it simply depended on the time when Antiphates arrived from the *ἀγορά*. The editors of the reading *δεῖπνον* regard him as coming home probably somewhat earlier than usual on account of the summons of his wife, whilst the scholar who read *δόρπον* thought that he ought not to come home before noon. For we have no doubts as regards the hours of going to and coming from the Agora. They went at dawn as we see from the opening lines of Od. Bk. VIII. and returned home for the midday meal (Od. VIII. 55). The Homeric custom is therefore identical with that of later times. The full Agora (*ἡ πλήθουσα ἀγορά*) being about 9 a.m., and *ἡ διάλυσις τῆς ἀγορῆς* being shortly before 12 o'clock (cf. Transactions of Cambridge Phil. Soc. Vol. I. 301). It now only remains to point out two results of this discussion if its conclusions are sound. The lines,

ἦμος δ' ἐπὶ δόρπον ἀνὴρ ἀγορῆθεν ἀνέστη
κρίνων νείκεα πολλὰ δικαζομένων αἰζήων
(Od. XII. 439–40),

have been suspected on the grounds that they are inconsistent with the account of the whirlpool (XII. l. 105). In the last number of this Journal (p. 113) I showed that if the judge returned home from the Agora about midday, the poet is perfectly consistent (as the proper time for the whirlpool to disgorge was about midday), the only doubtful point being the use of δόρπον, which all have taken as showing that the time meant is late in the evening. Indeed Buchholz quotes the passage to prove that δόρπον was taken late in the day.

From what I have shown above, I think it will be seen that there is no need for any such supposition, but that δόρπον was the meal taken by the judge on his return from the Agora (and that a little later than usual as he had many cases to decide) at the usual time for the midday meal.

In later times the two chief meals of the Greeks were the midday meal (ἄριστον) and the evening meal (δεῖπνον). The δόρπον has disappeared. The fact that δεῖπνον and δόρπον often referred to the same meal offers a ready explanation of the disappearance of the latter, just as the use of ἄριστον for the morning meal, which is probably only beginning in Homer, as the only two instances are in Il. XXIV, and in the Odyssey (XVI) brought about that δεῖπνον came into general use for the meal of the afternoon.

In the Hymn to Demeter (129) δόρπον is identified with δεῖπνον:

δεῖπνον δ' ἠρτύνοντο
ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ οὐ δόρποιο μελίφρονος ἤρατο θυμός.

This shows the transition period when δεῖπνον and δόρπον were identified in usage and when as yet δόρπον had not perished from use[1].

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

[1] Dr Walter Leaf tells me that the word for *supper* in modern Albanian is *darke*, evidently originally identical with δόρπον. It is used as a designation of *time*, e.g. the evening star is "the star that comes out after *darke*."

CAESAR'S EXPEDITIONS TO BRITAIN.

[A Comparison of "Essays on Caesar's Invasions" (privately printed) by Sir George Airy, late Astronomer-Royal; "Caesar's Invasion of Britain" by Dr Guest, Archaeological Journal, Vol. XXI.; and "Caesar in Kent," Rev. T. Vines, with Caesar's and Dion Cassius's narratives and with the present and former condition of the coast of Kent.]

The references are to Maittaire's edition of the Commentaries.

THE subject of Caesar's expeditions to Britain has been so often treated that it may appear hardly worth while to approach it again. Some considerations, however, seem to me to have been neglected, and some points not accurately stated, by writers on the subject. Moreover a late popular work on the subject, *Caesar in Kent*, Rev. T. Vines, while going back to the ordinary view that Caesar attempted Dover and actually landed near Deal, leans upon ancient Welsh traditional and local evidence which scarcely warrants the conclusion, but which needs further examination. Caesar's own accounts, however, I specially want to consider, for taken alone and by themselves, if they do not tell us much definitely, they altogether exclude some confidently advanced theories.

In the first place, in the 18th chapter of the IV. book of the Gallic War he tells us that he set out for the country of the Morini because from their country was the shortest passage into Britain. *In Morinos proficiscitur quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam transiectus.*

Sir George Airy would have it that this passage does not imply that Caesar crossed from the country of the Morini, but that he may have marched through them, and crossed from the estuary of the Somme beyond their southern boundary. The wording does not exclude this interpretation perhaps, certainly it does not force us to believe that he crossed by the actually shortest passage, but it is a forced interpretation to take it as meaning anything than that he crossed from one of the ports of the Morini, and used it because the passage from it was short compared with many others.

He does not name the port which he used on the first expedition. On the second occasion he says (Bell. Gall. v. 2) that he used the Portus Itius, *quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam transiectum esse cognoverat.* Might not the reader coming to this with a perfectly open mind suppose that he did not use the same port on the two occasions? He names the second and does not name the first, he remarks on his discovery of the great convenience of the second, he especially mentions that he disembarked on both occasions at the same place, he gives himself every opportunity for saying that he sailed from the same port, if he did so, but yet he never says it. Dion Cassius (XL. 1), who gives a more lively account of the affair than any other author except Caesar himself, also points out that he landed at the same place on both expeditions, but does not say that he sailed from the same. Dion Cassius had some authority besides the Commentaries, for he mentions one or two small matters which Caesar does not. The plain sense of Caesar's own account seems to me to be that he did not use the same port on both occasions. The circumstances of the two voyages point to the same conclusion.

On the second occasion the Portus Itius is named as a well-known harbour and port of departure for Britain, and an explanatory sentence is added, that Britain is *circiter millium passuum XXX a continenti.* This has been suspected to be an interpolation, it certainly is awkward as it stands, but interpolation or not it surely is a forced interpretation to take it as meaning anything except that the writer, either Caesar or his copyist, knew the Portus Itius and knew that it was about 30

Roman miles from Britain. An exact measure of the distance across the sea is not to be expected[1]. Dr Guest and Du Cange quote passages from William of Poictiers and William of Jumièges to shew that in the Middle Ages the Portus Itius and Wissant were different names for the same place. In the thirteenth century it is possible that the use of the Roman name for Wissant was a living one[2], and in default of any certainty we may allow that it looks probable that on his second expedition Caesar used the pool-harbour behind the sand-hills at Wissant, north-east of Cape Grisnez. The probabilities however are against his having used it on his first expedition. To turn to his own account he says, *nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem tertia fere vigilia solvit... ipse hora circiter diei quarta cum primis navibus Britanniam attigit.* IV. 21. That is to say he with his fastest ships took about nine hours at least to cross over, perhaps ten hours. The time is incredibly slow for the voyage from Wissant to off Dover, some 22 English miles, and the passage from Wissant to off Folkestone is not 24 miles. The weather was favourable. Considering what timid sailors the Romans were this probably means that there were light and favouring winds, either astern or slightly abeam. Ancient ships could sail in other conditions than straight before the wind, for Vergil Aen. III. 550 makes Aeneas describe how his fleet tacked beating off the Italian coast:—

Cornua velatarum obvertimus antennarum.

Probably oars in such a case were used to help the sail power. On his return from the second expedition Caesar describes how (V. 19)—*summa tranquillitate consecuta, secunda inita quum solvisset vigilia, prima luce terram attigit.* As this was before the equinox, about the middle of September, when the sun set

[1] It is possible to translate it as an interpolated remark applying to the *usual* passage from Gaul to Britain as being thirty miles. Surely however if the interpolator knew anything of the matter he knew the Portus Itius, and if he knew the Portus Itius it is difficult to suppose that it means the passage from any other place. From Wissant to Dover is less than thirty Roman miles.

[2] *Wissant* is probably merely *White Sand*. The coast there is full of English names given by the Saxons who settled on both shores of the Straits in the fifth century. The Latin name would continue to be in literary use.

after six and rose at half-past five, it shews that in a calm he got over, probably by rowing almost entirely, in about seven hours and a half. As he came from his ultimate landing-place in Britain, wherever that was, this passage must have been a longer one by several miles than that from Wissant to Dover, the distance which we are asked to suppose took his fastest ships nine or ten hours in a favourable state of the weather.

The time in which sailing-vessels can cross from near Calais to Dover depends of course entirely upon the weather. But here we have fine weather at least admitted. If there was not enough wind oars were used, instead of or to supplement the sail power. The Channel has been frequently rowed across. Formerly smugglers used to row over in calm, foggy weather. Lately it has been done as a feat or adventure. In 1885 an exceedingly ill-manned eight-oared boat, containing several inexperienced oarsmen and two who were knocked up by the heat of the sun before getting half-way, nevertheless got over from Dover to Calais in four hours and a quarter. In 1875 six members of the Folkestone Rowing Club rowed from Folkestone to Boulogne in five hours. In 1854 four officers of the Royal Artillery rowed from Dover to Calais, going out of their way to row past each ship in the British squadron then lying in Calais roads, and yet arrived in Calais exactly five hours after starting. The length of time taken by Caesar's fastest ships, for the slower sailers were much longer still in crossing, seems decisive against the passage from Wissant to Dover. The sole point which may farther help to identify the first port of departure is that there was another port, *portus superior*, north or south of it is not certain, distant eight Roman miles. This and similar distances must be taken to apply to the marching route along the shore, not the distance by water. It roughly is the marching distance from the bay of Wissant to Ambleteuse, from Ambleteuse to Boulogne, from the old site of Cwantawic the early mediæval port on the Canche to what was probably the head of the old estuary of the Authie, and from that to the present estuary of the Somme. On the French coast in short I believe that we must remain in complete uncertainty from want of more specific information from Caesar, except on this

one point, that his first expedition did not go from Wissant to Dover or anywhere across the narrowest parts of the strait.

On the English coast we have more chance of successfully tracing his movements from what he tells us himself. He landed both times at the same spot, and there are only three spots which can possibly answer the conditions. From what he tells us we require first, a coast with high cliffs or hills; secondly, seven or eight miles from this, a flat coast; thirdly, twelve miles inland from this flat landing-place, a river. The distance from the high to the flat coast is given at seven or eight Roman miles in different MSS of the Commentaries; it must I believe be measured by land from point to point, where Caesar would after landing be able to ascertain the distance, which is only approximate in any case. If the distance be measured by sea we find that from off Dover to off Deal is nearer nine Roman miles than eight. But Caesar was no sailor, and probably made no attempt to compute distances on the water with accuracy. It is a hard thing to do for a landsman. So I should suppose that the twelve miles' march inland to a river is an approximate distance. An experienced officer would compute the length of a march within half-a-mile.

The three possible points of landing are the following. The beach near Deal or Walmer, about the required distance from the high cliffs at Dover, and with the little Stour about twelve miles inland. The old shore somewhere in the interior of what is now Romney Marsh, about the required distance from the high cliffs near Folkestone, and with the greater Stour near Wye or Chilham about twelve miles inland. The beach at Pevensey, about the required distance from Hastings or St Leonards, with the river Rother near Robertsbridge about twelve miles inland. East of Beachy Head there is no other part of the coast which answers the conditions. West of Beachy Head we need not look. The river (*flumen*), near which Caesar fought the Britons twelve miles inland, was probably not a large one. It is not described as being of any importance in the battle, it is not called a defence of the native position, no difficulty is made about crossing it. We only hear that the

native cavalry and chariots *ad flumen progressi ex loco superiore nostros prohibere coeperunt.* v. 8. This I believe to be very important, as excluding the mile broad estuary of the greater Stour at Grove Ferry where Dr Guest placed the battle, and perhaps excluding even the tidal Rother at Robertsbridge where Sir George Airy placed it. Dion Cassius makes no mention of the river in connexion with the battle.

The second point of description, of which a great deal has been made, is of the shore where Caesar first anchored but did not land. He speaks thus of it: *Cuius loci haec erat natura; adeo montibus angustis mare continebatur uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adiici posset.* IV. 21. This has been taken as applying to old Dover harbour, the head of which ran no doubt far up into the present town. Surely the plain meaning is, "that the sea was so bounded by hills closely pressing upon it, that a weapon could be hurled from the higher ground on to the shore." Nothing is said about a creek running inland. No soldier would dream of landing an army in such a creek. What is wanted for landing an army is a long reach of flat shore, like the shore near Eupatoria where the Crimean expedition landed, and the shore here was too closely commanded by the upper ground to make it suitable.

Dover having become the usual port of arrival in England, it has been seized upon by tradition as the place of Caesar's arrival. But putting aside the inherent improbability of a lasting tradition it is almost susceptible of proof that this tradition is not very old. Leland and Camden believed it. Camden mentions a "Table" formerly in Dover Castle, which had disappeared before his time, which illustrated the same view. Here we have a record of opinion reaching perhaps to the fifteenth century, or whenever the "Table" was made. Camden however goes on to mention a local tradition of Caesar having fought his battle on the Stour near Chilham, mistakenly adding that Chilham is twelve miles from the coast. It is eighteen miles in a straight line from the coast of Deal. I attach no importance to this tradition, the population must have changed too thoroughly to make it of any value, but the citation of it by Camden is destructive of the whole fabric of traditions

quoted by him, as it is incompatible with his other traditions about Dover and Deal.

Dr Guest, as also Mr Vines, has referred to the old native accounts of the invasion as supporting the theory of an arrival off Dover and of a landing at Deal or Walmer.

The ancient British historians are very cautiously to be used wherever their national vanity is concerned; but such as it is their testimony is not in favour of Deal being the landing-place. The work of Nennius, belonging to the ninth century, preserves fragments of earlier writers. The passage about Caesar's invasion is corrupt and manifestly in parts a creation of Celtic imagination. He says that Caesar came to Britain *cum lx ceolis in ostio fluminis tamensis in quo naufragium naves illius perpessae sunt dum ille pugnaret apud Dolo bellum.* Camden believed that this meant *at Deal.* Dr Guest considers *apud Dolo* to be decisive in favour of the correctness and antiquity of the reading, "*Dolo* being one of the old indeclinable names common in the Itineraries." When however he goes on to say that Deal may correctly be described as in the mouth of the Thames, it is a little difficult to follow him. Then it is only fair to take Nennius as a whole. He further relates that Caesar came again to the mouth of the Thames, and lost many men and horses from iron spikes which the British general had put in the shallows. Moreover he mentions a third expedition of *Julius Caesar*, crowned by a victory near London, making a blunder which goes far towards invalidating all his testimony. Neither is *apud Dolo* the universally accepted reading in the passage just quoted from Nennius. One version says that Caesar fought *contra Dolobellum.* Matthew Paris and Henry of Huntingdon knew this account. Henry calls Dolobellus the British general, *Proconsul Britannicus.* The *Historia Major*, bearing the name of Matthew Paris, says that Caesar twice came to the mouth of the Thames, that on the first occasion he was defeated in a personal combat with Nennius, a British leader, that on the second occasion he tried to sail up the Thames to Trinovantum, London, and lost his ships on spikes placed in the river, but that he came a third time with more success, landing *In Rutupi portu qui*

modo Sandwicum dicitur. There is surely here and in Nennius a confusion of the expedition of Julius Caesar with that of Aulus Plautius and the Emperor Claudius. The latter is related by *Dion Cassius* to have joined his army near the river Thames, and to have won a battle, which cannot have been far from London. But it is clear, at all events, that these writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries knew nothing of a landing of Julius Caesar at Deal, for though the channel through the Wansum was open, Deal is not in the mouth of the Thames, and never was. Even *Ritupae*, Richborough, which is two miles from Sandwich and six miles from Deal, could hardly be described as in the mouth of the Thames.

Neither does the inland country lend itself very well to the theory of a landing at Deal. Two rivers are about 12 miles distant, but one of them is inadmissible as the scene of the battle. Caesar never carried his army across a tidal estuary a mile broad, such as the greater Stour at or near Grove Ferry, to defeat the Britons beyond. That such was the condition of the Stour in those days, when the Wansum was a navigable channel and Canterbury was a port, is evident from a view of the ground, a consideration of the local names, such as Stour-mouth, and the results of the geological survey which shew that the marshes there were recently overflowed at high-water. So great a military feat would have been noticed at length in the Commentaries. Had Caesar contemplated any such operation he would have brought his ships round to help him. The second position where he may have fought the Britons is on the little Stour. Napoleon the Third's coadjutors in his *Vie de César* placed the battle here, and Mr Vines in his *Caesar in Kent* finds local tradition and remains to support the view. But the Briton, if he remembered it, would not communicate it to the Jutes. Here, if anywhere, the population must have quite changed. The supposed fortifications on Barham down are some of them the marks of old cultivation, some perhaps traces of the many armies known to have been encamped there in historical times from John's reign down to the Volunteers of the great French war. But marks of ancient cultivation on the sides of downs, where no farmer

would think of ploughing now, are common enough everywhere. The supposed site of the British *oppidum*, Old England's Hole, is too small, on the wrong side, the south-east, of the river, and doubtfully even a fortification at all. After rejecting the Stour as too broad it may seem hypercritical to say that the little Stour is too small for the *flumen* named, but it is here a mere brook. There is no impossibility however in the way of the battle having been fought near Barham downs on the little Stour if the landing was at Deal. There are other and graver objections however against the landing having been at Deal.

On Caesar's second voyage he aimed for his old landing-place, but in the night the wind dropped and the tide drifted him north-eastward, so that at daybreak he saw Britain *sub sinistra relictum*. Let any practical sailor, or landsman accustomed to the sea, consider the result if he were sailing from Wissant, or even from Boulogne, to Deal. His fleet would either have been on the Goodwin Sands, or with better luck he would have had the sands between him and the coast he was aiming at. It has been argued that the Goodwin Sands did not exist in Caesar's days. Leland says that the decay of the port of Sandwich was owing to the Goodwin Sands, though Sandwich was a flourishing port still after Leland's days, and owed its decay to the blocking-up of its harbour by sand, accelerated by the sinking of a great ship belonging to the pope in the middle of the channel. Sir Thomas More records an enquiry in the fifteenth century as to the cause of the Goodwin Sands, as if they were a new phenomenon, and tells us how one witness put them down to the building of Tenterden steeple. The nineteenth century would prefer to see in them an effect of the meeting tidal currents from the Channel and the North Sea, acting along a soft coast and bottom. No doubt they do shift a little, but the same general causes which make them exist now made them exist in Caesar's days. They may then have been an island. Twine has preserved a tradition of an island called *Lomea*, embanked from the sea, which was overwhelmed in a great storm. It is not mentioned in Domesday Book, and probably Earl Goodwin never had any property in the sands. But that they were attributed to him shews

that they can scarcely be an emergence of the fifteenth century, as More seems to imply and as Dr Guest seems to think.

Whether they were sands or islands, Caesar could not have rowed right through them when reseeking his true point after his night's drifting, and had he been obliged to turn them we should surely have heard of them from him.

But last of all, the decisive argument against Caesar's landing at Deal is to be found in Sir George Airy's masterly exposition of the tidal currents on the day of his arrival on the first expedition. The full moon was on the third day after he landed (*post diem iv quam est in Britanniam ventum*). It is true he goes on to say that it was also the highest tide, which does not really occur till a day and a half later; but the Romans could calculate the age of the moon and probably knew nothing of the theory of the tides. Observation would scarcely shew them the difference between the highest and the immediately preceding tides, which difference may be considerably affected by the wind. Sir George Airy shewed, and it was confirmed by experiments conducted by a naval officer for the Admiralty, that on the day of Caesar's arrival, after the ninth hour, or nearly three o'clock in the afternoon, when he was seeking an easier landing-place with wind and tide in his favour, that the tidal current was running down Channel, and could not therefore have taken him from Dover to Deal. A confusion on this point has arisen from the mistaken supposition that the turn in the direction of the tidal current corresponds with the hours of high and low water on the shore. This is not the case even in the tidal Thames, much less in the Channel. The Admiralty experiments moreover shewed that a distance out from the shore from half a mile to a mile and a half made a very trifling difference in the time of the turn of the stream, never more than half-an-hour. As the tidal stream turned to the westward off Dover at about one in the afternoon and runs for about six hours or rather more in the same direction, no delay supposed in his start after the ninth hour, when the vessels were all gathered together, can mend the case for the supporters of the Dover and Deal theory. At any time that afternoon between two o'clock and seven, in any part of the Channel

between Dunge Ness and Dover, the tidal current was running westward. The sole argument left is that, owing to the alterations in the coast at the mouths of the Rother, the Stour and the Thames, the hours of the tidal currents have changed These currents however depend upon the great ocean tidal waves, and when Sir George Airy, the greatest authority of the century upon the tides, says that they were the same then as now, *cadit quaestio.* We are lifted out of the uncertainties of historical topography into the certainties of scientific knowledge. I purposely place last this argument, which I believe renders impossible a theory which otherwise I have tried to shew to be improbable.

If Caesar lay off a high shore and then sailed westward to a flat beach, the choice is narrowed to Pevensey and Romney Marsh as his places of landing. William the Conqueror used the former, sailing from the mouth of the Somme. Sir George Airy considers that Caesar landed here also, after lying off the comparatively low cliffs above St Leonards, using among other arguments the analogy from the Conqueror's invasion. Two great captains, coming from Gaul to Britain, would use the same ports of departure and arrival. There seem to be three difficulties in this view. First, it almost necessitates sailing from the Somme. This is possible on the first expedition, but it is difficult to identify the Somme with the *Portus Itius* used in the second expedition, or to make the use of it agree with the circumstances of the eastward drift by which Caesar saw Britain *sub sinistra relictam.* It may be remarked too that the analogy from William's invasion is not quite satisfactory. William did not consider the Somme the only place on the coast fit for the muster and embarkation of a large expedition. He intended to invade England from the mouth of the Dive, and gathered his fleet there. It was only unfavourable winds delaying his start which caused him, for the sake of supplies, to transfer his fleet to the Somme, to draw upon a fresh country. There he got the south wind, which he had expected in vain in his former port. Secondly, the then tidal estuary at Robertsbridge where, if Caesar landed at Pevensey his battle must have been fought, was rather too

formidable to be so lightly dismissed as the *flumen* is dismissed in Caesar's account of his battle. The light which Sir George Airy in writing on this point threw incidentally on the strength of Harold's position at Senlac is very striking, coming as it did before the publication of Freeman's *Norman Conquest*. Thirdly, Dion Cassius, who writes with more intelligence than any other historian of the events after Caesar, says that Caesar sailed from his original place of arrival *ἄκραν τινὰ προέχουσαν περιπλεύσας*. Dion Cass. XL. 1. There is no headland between Hastings and Pevensey. Another expression by Dion Cassius is worth noticing. He says that Caesar made the land on the first occasion where he ought not, *οὐ μέντοι καὶ ᾗ ἔδει προσέσχεν*. Surely this implies not that Caesar aimed at a certain point for a landing-place and then abandoned it upon a nearer view, but that something like what befell him on the second voyage happened on the first also, and that he drifted out of his course a little to a point which he did not intend to reach. If so this disposes of all idea of his aiming at Dover as the usual port of landing. It must be repeated that the best place to land an army is not a narrow port but a long expanse of flat beach or sand.

There remains the third possibility, that Caesar arrived somewhere off Folkestone and that he dropped down Channel thence to where Romney Marsh now is, and landed in that neighbourhood. This is the view supported by Mr Lewin, *Caesar's Invasion of Britain;* Longmans, 1859. That writer however is certainly wrong in supposing that Romney Marsh was then "in its general configuration the same as at present" (*Caesar's Inv.* p. 42), and in considering that in the first century B.C. the only haven ran up behind a shingle bank from Hythe to Lymne, as Lambarde and Camden describe it in times shortly before their own. Neither is it much to the point to shew islands marked in Hythe haven, in a map of the sixteenth century, as confirming the truth of the story in Plutarch and Valerius Maximus of Caesar's soldier cut off on an island or rock by the enemy in Britain.

To the former condition of Romney Marsh I will return shortly.

If Caesar sailed on his first expedition soon after midnight three days before the full moon, and if his scout-master Volusenus had already fixed upon the flat shore near Stutfall Castle as a suitable landing-place, Caesar steering hither from either Boulogne or the mouth of the Canche, or the mouth of the Authie, would be liable to be drifted by the tidal current eastward towards Folkestone. If his ships made their *rendez-vous* in East Wear bay, or off Folkestone Harbour, he would have to round a point, as Dion Cassius describes, in making for his intended landing-place. The point of land at Folkestone extended further seaward in recent times. The whole coast there is being worn by the sea. Caesar uses the word *progressus* of this latter part of his voyage. It has been objected that he must already have passed his point and was now returning to it, if he landed in the Marsh, and that therefore the expression would be inapplicable. The objection arises from the mistaken supposition that the coast was then, as it is now, a line of shingle tending south-westward from near Hythe towards the point of Dunge Ness. The coast line then however ran nearly east and west from Sandgate towards Appledore. From the French coast south of Cape Grisnez he would have come to Folkestone in a line almost exactly at right angles to this coast.

The principal objections indeed to this place of landing seem to be based on a misapprehension of the state of the shore. Lambarde in his *Perambulation of Kent* says that the sea used to go to Lymne, where is the Roman fortress Stutfall Castle, guarding the Portus Lemanis, just as Richborough Castle and Burgh Castle and Pevensey guarded their respective ports, fortified on three sides by stone or brick walls, and on the fourth with an earthen bank towards the sea. Then, Lambarde adds, West Hythe was the port, then Hythe, though the last even was being left dry in his day (Queen Eliz. reign). Camden tells us that in his day Hythe was a modern port, but even then blocked up, that "in our grandfathers' time" West Hythe was the harbour, and "that places in the Marsh which in memory of our fathers stood upon the shore are now a mile or two from it." But the high bank of shingle which

has blocked up Hythe harbour is not continuous with the Spit which forms the point of Dunge Ness. Both alike represent the waste from the chalk cliffs down Channel drifted eastward by the prevailing winds, but the marsh between them is unprotected by any natural bank of shingle, and being generally below high-water mark is only kept from the sea by the embankment called Dymchurch Wall. Almost certainly a branch of the Rother used to run along the northern part of the marsh, and the shingle near Hythe lay, as usual on this coast, to windward of its mouth. Hythe and West Hythe harbours were in the old mouth of the river behind the bank of shingle. Shoreham Harbour, formed by the Adur running parallel to the shore behind a shingle bank, and communicating with the sea through different passages in the bank at different times is a similar port or series of ports. Under the Romans the entrance was opposite Lymne; later this was stopped and another made opposite Hythe, through which West Hythe and Lymne harbours would be for a time accessible, but were gradually silted up. Anglo-Saxon charters, as of Wihtraed of Kent, A.D. 700, grant land south of the river Limen or Rother. Egbert of Kent, A.D. 833, grants land *in loco qui dicitur Sandtun et in eodem loco sali coquenda iuxta Limenae.* Sandtun is still recognisable between West Hythe and Botolph's Bridge, and the charter goes on to tell us that its boundary on the south was *fluvius qui dicitur liminae.* Kemble, *A.S. Charters*, Vol. I. pp. 54, 297, 308, &c. The branch of the Rother from Appledore to Romney is too far off to have been the boundary of *Sandtun*, and is south-west of it, not south. The northern arm however was probably but one smaller branch of the Rother; the main stream ran by Appledore to Old Romney till the middle of the 13th century, when it was blocked by a storm and diverted to near its present course[1].

[1] For a complete discussion of the former state of Romney Marsh, see Topley, *Geolog. of the Weald*, ch. 17. I suppose that probably the Romans embanked the marsh and that the *Portus Lemanis* after that became accessible only from the east, inside the shingle spit opposite Hythe. Before the embankment however the higher shore must have been accessible to the west of that shingle, by ships sailing over what is now embanked land.

But before the Roman occupation we can hardly suppose that the Rhee wall from Appledore to Romney, nor Dymchurch wall between the latter and Hythe, were made. Without them the alluvial flat, which is nearly all below high-water mark, must have been overflowed, and the two, or more, branches of the Rother must have meandered through it much as the Stour now winds through the sand-banks of Pegwell Bay, gradually depositing soil and raising on their left or shoreward banks a strip of flat dry ground. Here therefore, not on the barren shingle bank, but on a broad flat muddy shore, with good camping-ground, wood and water on the slope above, was a landing-place second to none.

The place agrees singularly with the account of the battle on the shore. The ships could not approach very near owing to the shallows. But the slope of the shore was not uniform, as might be expected near the shifting mouths of a river, for the Britons had an advantage from their knowledge of the bottom, *notis omnibus vadis*. Yet there was deeper water near the right flank of the defenders, where Caesar was able to bring up his ships to threaten their shieldless flank, *latus apertum*, with his artillery. He may have pushed his ships up a channel of the Rother itself. The victory being won there would be good camping-ground on the slope where Stutfall Castle now stands, the camp covering the fleet much as the fortress afterwards covered the *Portus Lemanis*. The passage into the inner country would be easy by the break in the hill above West Hythe or westward at Eldergate, but the hill is anywhere accessible. On his second expedition a march of twelve miles hence would bring him to the Stour near Godmersham or Chilham, below Wye. There is a probably worthless tradition of his having fought here. There are said to be remains of entrenchments, but the British *oppidum* is not necessarily to be found, for Caesar mentions no

The land between Hurst and East Bridge Chapel is said now to be 9½ ft. below high-water mark. Near here I believe Caesar landed. In A.D. 893 Hastings the pirate came here with his fleet from Boulogne, and sailed four miles up the Rother to the Weald. The Weald is ten miles from the present coast.

earthworks but only felled trees as its fortification, and Cassius also says that the Britons were stockaded, ὥστε ἐν χαρακώματι.

No one can say that he has settled this question; but looking solely to Caesar's account and to Dion Cassius, and putting aside worthless traditions, I think that the hypothesis here put forward of a voyage from two different ports in Gaul and a landing in Romney Marsh offers fewer difficulties than any other.

HENRY ELLIOT MALDEN.

THE PERVIGILIUM VENERIS.

THE text of this poem is still in a very unsatisfactory state. It was last thoroughly dealt with by Bücheler (1858). He has improved it considerably, but in his alterations, especially of the order of the lines, he has allowed himself an excessive licence. Since then Riese, in his edition of the Latin Anthology (1869) has re-edited it carefully, but as it seems to me without taste.

The text depends on two MSS. of the Anthology, the Codex Salmasianus (S) or Parisiensis 10318 of the 7th or early 8th century, and the Codex Pithoeanus (P) or Thuaneus or Parisiensis 8071, of about two centuries later. These Riese argues with probability to be copies of copies of a single archetype, probably of the 6th century.

One transposition of Bücheler's which may be called certain is the placing l. 58

Et recentibus virentes ducat umbram floribus

after l. 39. It obviously makes nonsense where it stands, and this is the one place in the poem where it fits in both in sense and grammar. Riese, changing *ducat* into *ducit*, places the line after l. 4: a quite singularly unhappy alteration. It will be convenient before going further to give the full text, in the MS. order with this one exception. Where the MSS. readings have been altered by the editors with practical certainty, the corrected reading is given: in other cases the reading of the MSS. Where these differ from one another that of S is printed first, and that of P in brackets [ ] after it.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
Ver novum, ver iam canorum, ver natus orbis est.
Vere concordant amores, vere nubunt alites,
Et nemus comam resolvit de maritis imbribus.
Cras amorum copulatrix inter umbras arborum
Implicat casas virentes de flagello myrteo:
Cras Dione iura dicit fulta sublimi throno.
Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
Tunc cruore de superno spumeo pontus globo,
Caerulas inter catervas inter et bipedes equos,
Fecit undantem Dionem de maritis imbribus.
Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
Ipsa gemmis purpurantem pingit annum floridis;
Ipsa surgentes papillas de favoni spiritu
Urget in notos penates [totos pentes]: ipsa roris lucidi,
Noctis aura quem relinquit, spargit umentes aquas.
Et micant lacrimae trementes de caduco pondere;
Gutta praeceps orbe parvo sustinet casus suos.
En pudorem florulentae prodiderunt purpurae.
Umor ille quem serenis astra rorant noctibus
Mane virgineas papillas solvit umenti peplo.
Ipsa iussit mane tute [tuae] virgines nubant rosae.
Facta prius de cruore deque amoris osculis,
Deque gemmis deque flammis deque solis purpuris,
Cras ruborem qui latebat veste tectus ignea
Unica marita noto [marito nodo] non pudebit solvere.
Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
Ipsa nymphas diva luco iussit ire myrteo:
It puer comes puellis, nec tamen credi potest
Esse amorem feriatum, si sagittas vexerit:
Ite nymphae, posuit arma, feriatus est amor.
Iussus est inermis ire, nudus ire iussus est,
Neu quid arcu neu sagitta neu quid igne laederet:
Sed tamen cavete nymphae, quod Cupido pulcer est:
Totus est inermis idem quando nudus est amor.
Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
Conpari Venus pudore mittit ad te virgines:
Una res est quam rogamus, cede virgo Delia,

Ut nemus sit incruentum de ferinis stragibus,
Et recentibus virentes ducat umbram floribus[1].
Ipsa vellet te rogare, si pudicam flecteret:
Ipsa vellet ut venires, si deceret virginem.
Iam tribus choros videres feriatos noctibus
Congreges inter catervas ire per saltus tuos
Floreas inter coronas myrteas inter casas:
Nec Ceres nec Bacchus absunt, nec poetarum deus.
De tinente [detinent et] tota nox est perviclanda [pervigila] canticis:
Regnet in silvis Dione, tu recede Delia.
Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
Iussit Hyblaeis tribunal stare diva floribus;
Praeses ipsa iura dicet, adsidebunt Gratiae:
Hybla totos funde flores, quicquid annus attulit;
Hybla florum superestem [rumperes te], quantus etne [ethne] campus est.
Ruris hic erunt puellae vel puellae montium,
Quaeque silvas quaeque lucos quaeque montes incolunt;
Iussit omnes adsidere pueri mater alitis,
Iussit et nudo puellas nil Amori credere.
Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
Cras erit quom primus aether copulavit nuptias,
Ut pater totum creavit [totis crearet] veris annum nubibus:
In sinum maritus imber fluxit almae coniugis,
Unde fetus mixtus omnes aleret magno corpore.
Ipsa venas atque mentem permeanti spiritu
Intus occultis gubernat procreatrix viribus,
Perque caelum perque terras perque pontum subditum,
Pervium sui tenorem seminali tramite
Inbuit, iussitque mundum nosse nascendi vias.
Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
Ipsa Troianos nepotes in Latinos transtulit.
Ipsa Laurentem puellam coniugem nato dedit,
Moxque Marti de sacello dat pudicam virginem.
Romuleas ipsa fecit cum Sabinis nuptias:
Unde Ramnes et Quirites proque prole posterum

[1] [P omits this line.]

Romuli matrem crearet et nepotem Caesarem.
Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
Rura fecundat voluptas, rura Venerem sentiunt;
Ipse Amor puer Dionae rure natus dicitur:
Hunc ager cum parturiret ipsa suscepit sinu,
Ipsa florum delicatis educavit osculis.
Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
Ecce iam super genestas explicant tauri latus,
Quisque tutus quo tenetur coniugali foedere;
Subter umbras cum maritis ecce balantum gregis [gregum]
Et canoras non tacere diva iussit alites.
Iam loquaces ore rauco stagna cycni perstrepunt;
Adsonat Terei puella subter umbram populi,
Ut putes motus amoris ore dici musico,
Et neges queri sororem de marito barbaro.
Illa cantat, nos tacemus: quando ver venit meum?
Quando fiam uti chelidon ut tacere desinam?
Perdidi Musam tacendo, nec me Apollo respicit:
Sic Amyclas, cum tacerent, perdidit silentium.
Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

As it thus stands, the poem consists of ten irregular stanzas of 7, 3, 14, 8, 12, 8, 9, 6, 4 and 12 lines respectively, with the refrain after each: l. 1 being not a refrain (for a poem does not begin with a refrain) but a first line which, as often in English poetry, is afterwards used as a refrain.

First then as to certain points in the text.

l. 2. The question is very evenly balanced between *vere natus orbis est* and *ver renatus orbis est.* The latter, though Bücheler sneers at it, is I think the likelier as being the more difficult: it is curious Latin, but quite in the manner of writers of that period. Also, a point which may easily be forgotten, it is the only way to express in Latin the thought which we should have no difficulty in expressing directly, 'Spring is the new birth of the world'. You cannot say *ver renatio* or *renascentia orbis est,* because there are no such words. There can be no doubt that either reading is much preferable to *vere natus est Iovis* (Bücheler from *ver natus iovis est* of P).

ll. 6, 7. I believe a line to be lost between these two. This will be dealt with further when we come to the question of arrangement in stanzas.

l. 9. *Tunc* has nothing to refer to. We must go back six lines to get to *ver* which is the only antecedent. Riese places ll. 9—11 with some plausibility after l. 62. But here too I believe a line is lost, beginning *Ver*, or at all events containing some mark of time to which *tunc* refers.

l. 11. Bücheler is perhaps right in saying that the original end of this line is lost, and that it is filled up by a repetition of the last words of line 4. Otherwise *de marinis imbribus* is defensible: cf. *inimicum imbrem* of the sea-water in Aen. I. 123.

l. 15. *Notos* almost certainly conceals *nodos*, the next word being an epithet: probably *repentes*, which would very easily be mistaken: perhaps however *tumentes*: cf. Florus in Anth. Lat. 87 which shews that *nodus* meant the bud while still unfolded,

> Una dies ostendit spicula florum,
> Altera pyramidas nodo maiore tumentes,
> Tertia iam calathos.

Riese, prosaic as usual, reads *patentes*.

As to the authorship of the poem it may be noticed that the trochaic fragments extant under the name of P. Annius Florus, the contemporary and acquaintance of the Emperor Hadrian, in the Anthology (245—252), especially 248 and 252, are very like the Pervigilium in style.

l. 17. For *Et micant* Bücheler reads *en micant*. Perhaps rather *emicant* (*ecmicant*). And *de caduco* should be *decidivo*.

l. 22. *Iubere* occurs seven times again in the poem, always with an infinitive; nor indeed is it Latin to say *iubere ut*. Hence *nubant* makes it almost certain that something is lost here, i.e. an infinitive clause on which *ut nubant rosae* depends.

The *ut udae* of Salmasius is better and nearer the MS. reading than Bücheler's *totae*.

l. 23. There can be no doubt that the sense wanted is 'made of Venus' blood': and the only objection, if it be an

objection, to *Cypridis* is that it makes an anapaest in the second foot. There is an undoubted anapaest in the corresponding place of the second half-line in l. 76, *rura Venerem sentiunt.* There seems to be no authority for the form *Cypris* as a genitive (Riese after Scriverius).

For *osculis* to balance the line we should probably read *osculo.*

l. 26. I read *unico marita nodo...solvere,* 'to unfold from its single bud.'

l. 35. *Totus est inermis idem* is of course just the opposite of the sense required. To write *in armis* for *inermis* (Riese) is metrically impossible. Bücheler after Salm. writes *Est in armis totus idem* which is otherwise satisfactory, but it is not easy to see how the order should have got changed. Comparing l. 33 *neu quid igne laederet* I suspect that *idem* should be *ignis*: 'love when naked is all over a weaponless fire.'

ll. 41, 42. The first *ipsa* goes with *vellet,* the second with *venires*: a very pretty subtlety of language.

l. 47. Heinsius' *detinenda canticis* is probably right: cf. Ov. Met. I. 683 *detinuit sermone diem.* But I cannot believe that *pervigilanda* is satisfactory: more likely *pervigilia* in apposition with *nox. Pervigilium* is the ordinary form, but *pervigilia* is not infrequent

l. 53. *Sparge vestem* Salm. *Sume vestem* Bücheler. *Subde vestem* Riese after Scriverius. Better, and nearer the MSS., *rumpe vestem,* 'break into a sheet of flowers.'

Ennae campus seems much preferable to *Aetnae campus.*

l. 60. I read *ut pater totum crearet. totis crearet* Bücheler.

ll. 69—74. There is obviously something wrong with the verses as they stand. Whether we retain *Romuli matrem* in l. 74 or with Bücheler read *Romulum patrem,* l. 72 interrupts the sense. Bücheler strikes it out as an interpolation. Certainly ll. 70, 71, 73, 74 go closely together: and I incline to think that l. 72 should follow l. 69. The poet says Venus brought the Trojans to Latium and the Sabines to Rome: then he goes back, and gives two special particular instances of her intervention, namely the marriage of Lavinia to Aeneas and of Rhea Silvia to Mars. In l. 74 *Romulum patrem* must be right: the *pudica virgo* was the mother of Romulus, and it would be

nonsense to say that Venus gave Rhea to Mars in order to produce Rhea herself. Also there is a rhetorical antithesis between *patrem Romulum* and *nepotem Caesarem*. Riese's *dat pudicam virginem Romuli matrem, crearet ut nepotem Caesarem* is very flat and unrhythmical.

l. 81. There seems no reason for altering the *super* of the MSS. into *subter* as Bücheler does following Schrader and Wernsdorf.

l. 83. I read *gregem*: following *balantum*, this has got corrupted into *gregum* in P.

l. 87. I read *musicos* to avoid the unpleasant assonance of *musico...barbaro*.

l. 90. There is no reason for altering *ut tacere* of the MSS. into *et tacere*.

Thus much for the text: now as to the arrangement in stanzas. In the MSS. the refrain comes in ten times at irregular intervals varying from 3 to 14 lines. Attempts have been made to arrange these sections antistrophically, but none with any success. Bücheler inserts two additional refrains, thus making twelve verses of 7, 6, 5, 5, 4, 4, 5, 5, 8, 12, 8 and 12 lines respectively.

Now if we look at the poem as it stands, we can hardly fail to be struck with the large number of quatrains in it. Fourteen passages fall naturally into groups of four lines: ll. 1—4. 13—16, 23—26, 28—31, 32—35, 37—40, 43—46, 50—53, 54—57, 59—62, 76—79, 81—84, 85—88, 89—92. The poem consists of 93 lines, or 83 if the 10 refrains are left out. That out of 83 lines 56 should be quaternary can hardly be accidental. But this is not all. There is reason to suspect the loss of a line between ll. 6 and 7, and of another before l. 9: l. 19 interrupts the close connection of ll. 17 and 18 with ll. 20 and 21, and would be better removed to after l. 21, where I have shewn traces of a gap before or after l. 22: ll. 47 and 48 join naturally on to ll. 41 and 42. Without any violence to the text we are thus able to reconstruct five more quatrains, three of them however imperfect. Seventy-two lines are thus accounted for: out of the total of eighty-three there remain eleven, *i.e.* ll. 63—74 (l. 68 being a refrain).

Here there is some difficulty. I have already stated that I consider ll. 70, 71, 73, 74 as going closely together. If they are taken as making up another quatrain, we are left with ll. 63—67, which at first sight seem inseparable, and ll. 69 and 72, which distinctly go together and immediately precede l. 70.

The former passage, ll. 63—67, is the only one in the poem where there is a period of more than four lines. But even here l. 65 is easily detachable from the rest: it can be taken out or put in anywhere without affecting the construction. If we detach it here, we have another quatrain, consisting of ll. 63, 64, 66, 67, and there are only three lines over, ll. 65, 69, 72. This is now pure theory: but there is nothing extravagant in supposing them to be the last three lines of a quatrain, of which the first line, beginning *Ipsa*, is lost.

If then we assume this to be so, the whole poem apart from the refrain consists of twenty-two quatrains. To arrive at this result we have to suppose (1) that five lines (ll. 19, 41, 42, 65 and 72) have become displaced, and (2) that five other lines are lost. I must leave it to others to judge whether these assumptions are excessive. The reconstructed poem would consist of $22 \times 4 = 88$ lines, together with a refrain after each stanza, or 110 lines in all. This number is perhaps not accidental. If the *trinoctium* of Venus for which this hymn was written were a secular celebration, the number 110 would have a special religious significance. Cf. the Comm. Cruq. on Horace's Carmen Seculare: *ludi seculares ideo dicti quod per C et X annos celebrabantur trinoctio, id est tribus diebus et tribus noctibus.*

I am not aware that any previous commentator has noticed the evident traces of quaternary arrangement in this poem. Probably the fact that ll. 2—11 (l. 1 being thought of as a refrain) seem to fall into three groups of three lines each, put them off thinking of fours. But the strongest evidence in support of the theory lay under their eyes all the time. The title of the poem in S runs thus—

∴ INCIPIT . PER . UIRGILIŨ . UENERIS
TROCAICO . METRO . SUNT . UERO
UERSUS . XXII

Riese says this refers to this and the 21 following pieces in the Anthology (to make 22 he has to strike out one poem, 216): his argument is very inconclusive. But the 'twenty-two verses' have been a great stumbling-block to editors. Some altered it into XCII, making this agree with the 93 lines of the poem by omitting either the first line as a sort of title, or l. 40 as not being in P. Others altered it into XIII or XII and made it refer to the number of times that the refrain recurred. As it recurs ten times only, they inserted three or two more where they thought best. Bücheler's theory is even farther fetched. It is that twenty-two lines (ll. 59—80) having become displaced, a note was made at the beginning of the poem (not at the place where the lines were omitted) to that effect, and misunderstood by a copyist to mean that there were twenty-two lines in the poem. That there are absolutely no limits to the folly of transcribers is a doctrine which has had its day: that any transcriber when copying a poem of ninety-three lines should have believed it to have only twenty-two goes beyond all recorded instances of human fatuity.

The truth then I believe to be that there *are* twenty-two verses. The poem thus reconstructed would run as follows:

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet:
Ver novum, ver iam canorum, ver renatus orbis est;
Vere concordant amores, vere nubunt alites,
Et nemus comam resolvit de maritis imbribus.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Cras amorum copulatrix inter umbras arborum
Inplicat casas virentes de flagello myrteo:
Cras . . . . . .
Cras Dione iura dicit fulta sublimi throno.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Ver . . . . . .
Tunc cruore de superno spumeo pontus globo,
Caerulas inter catervas, inter et bipedes equos,
Fecit undantem Dionem *de marinis imbribus.*

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Ipsa gemmis purpurantem pingit annum floridis;
Ipsa surgentes papillas de favoni spiritu
Urget in nodos repentes; ipsa roris lucidi,
Noctis aura quem relinquit, spargit umentes aquas.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Emicant lacrimae trementes decidivo pondere,
Gutta praeceps orbe parvo sustinet casus suos:
Umor ille quem serenis astra rorant noctibus
Mane virgineas papillas solvit umenti peplo.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

En pudorem florulentae prodiderunt purpurae
. . . . . .
Ipsa iussit, mane ut udae virgines nubant rosae,
. . . . . .

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Facta Cypridis de cruore deque Amoris osculo,
Deque gemmis deque flammis deque solis purpuris,
Cras ruborem qui latebat veste tectus ignea
Unico marita nodo non pudebit solvere.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Ipsa nymphas diva luco iussit ire myrteo:
It puer comes puellis; nec tamen credi potest
Esse Amorem feriatum, si sagittas vexerit:
Ite nymphae, posuit arma, feriatus est Amor.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Iussus est inermis ire, nudus ire iussus est,
Neu quid arcu neu sagitta neu quid igne laederet:
Sed tamen cavete nymphae, quod Cupido pulcer est:
Totus est inermis ignis quando nudus est Amor.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Conpari Venus pudore mittit ad te virgines:
Una res est quam rogamus, cede virgo Delia,

Ut nemus sit incruentum de ferinis stragibus
Et recentibus virentes ducat umbras floribus.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Ipsa vellet te rogare, si pudicam flecteret;
Ipsa vellet ut venires, si deceret virginem:
Detinenda tota nox est pervigilia canticis:
Regnet in silvis Dione, tu recede Delia.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Iam tribus choros videres feriatos noctibus
Congreges inter catervas ire per saltus tuos,
Floreas inter coronas, myrteas inter casas;
Nec Ceres nec Bacchus absunt nec poetarum deus.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Iussit Hyblaeis tribunal stare diva floribus;
Praeses ipsa iura dicet, adsidebunt Gratiae:
Hybla totos funde flores, quicquid annus adtulit;
Hybla florum rumpe vestem, quantus Ennae campus est.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Ruris hic erunt puellae vel puellae montium
Quaeque silvas quaeque lucos quaeque fontes incolunt:
Iussit omnes adsidere pueri mater alitis,
Iussit et nudo puellas nil Amori credere.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Cras erit quom primus aether copulavit nuptias
Ut pater totum crearet veris annum nubibus:
In sinum maritus imber fluxit almae coniugis,
Unde fetus mixtus omnes aleret magno corpore.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Ipsa venas atque mentem permeanti spiritu
Intus occultis gubernat procreatrix viribus,
Pervium sui tenorem seminali tramite
Inbuit, iussitque mundum nosse nascendi vias.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Ipsa . . . .
Perque caelum perque terras perque pontum subditum.
Ipsa Troianos nepotes in Latinos transtulit:
Romuleas ipsa fecit cum Sabinis nuptias.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Ipsa Laurentem puellam coniugem nato dedit,
Moxque Marti de sacello dat pudicam virginem,
Unde Ramnes et Quirites proque prole posterum
Romulum patrem crearet et nepotem Caesarem.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Rura fecundat voluptas: rura Venerem sentiunt:
Ipse Amor puer Dionae rure natus creditur:
Hunc ager cum parturiret ipsa suscepit sinu,
Ipsa florum delicatis educavit osculis.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Ecce iam super genestas explicant tauri latus,
Quisque tutus quo tenetur coniugali foedere:
Subter umbras cum maritis ecce balantum gregem,
Et canoras non tacere diva iussit alites.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Iam loquaces ore rauco stagna cycni perstrepunt:
Adsonat Terei puella subter umbram populi,
Ut putes motus amoris ore dici musicos,
Et neges queri sororem de marito barbaro.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Illa cantat, nos tacemus: quando ver venit meum?
Quando fiam uti chelidon ut tacere desinam?
Perdidi musam tacendo, nec me Apollo respicit:
Sic Amyclas, cum tacerent, perdidit silentium.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

The normal metre as used in the poem is

$$\begin{array}{l|llll} -\smile & -- & -\smile & -- & -\smile \\ & -\smile & & -\smile & \end{array}$$

The resolved tribrach is only used once or twice. The spondee is much more frequent than the trochee in the even feet, the proportion of trochees in the second and sixth feet being only $\frac{1}{4}$th and in the fourth foot only $\frac{1}{8}$th. In the second and sixth feet the spondee may be resolved into either an anapaest or a dactyl.

In two cases (l. 56 *pueri mater alitis* and l. 62 *aleret magno corpore*) the MSS. give an anapaest in the fifth foot. This if right is an unusual licence in verse which is generally written with such strictness. Bücheler reads *alitis mater dei* in l. 56 and strikes out l. 62 altogether. Failing a probable emendation of l. 62 I leave both as they are: it is certain that they do not strike the ear unpleasantly. A possible alteration of l. 62 would be *unde fetus pergit omnes alere magno corpore.*

J. W. MACKAIL.

ON PLATO'S CRATYLUS.

A PERUSAL of such notices of this dialogue as I have access to encourages me to hope that an attempt to elucidate its general scope and the connexion of its parts, as gathered from a study of itself with little or no reference to other dialogues, may not be presumptuous. Brandis (*art. Plato,* in Smith's *Dictionary*) calls it an "attempt to represent words as the immediate copy of ideas; that is of the essential in things"; which seems to me a reversal of its real purpose. Grote appears to me utterly to mistake and misrepresent its character. Mr Jowett dwells almost exclusively on the philology, and Prof. Campbell (*Encyc. Brit., Plato*) quotes him, and seems to think there is little else of value in it: Stallbaum, whom I only consulted after I had taken the matter in hand, does perceive that there is something else in it; but does not shew the connexion.

Although the proceeding is very unplatonic, it may be best to begin with stating the conclusions we are intended to come to.

There is, no doubt, the sketch of a theory of the origin and history of language—or rather of nomenclature—not unaccordant with modern speculations in principle, whatever we may think of the details. There is also some discussion and criticism of the Heraclitean school; and I think some indications of satire or quizzing of contemporaries or predecessors, to which we have lost the clue[1]. But all this appears to me subordinate to the clearly-expressed conclusion (p. 439):—"A

[1] When Socrates "puts on the lion's skin," are we only to see his usual ironical humility; or does it not indicate a definite roar in imitation of which he is braying?

scientific nomenclature *as perfect as possible might* suffice for *teaching* the truths of nature. But, inasmuch as names are but images, and therefore necessarily imperfect representations of *Things*, the surest way is the study of the Things themselves; and moreover (more important still), *a knowledge of the truth of Things, independently acquired, is a necessary preliminary to the formation of such an approximately perfect nomenclature.*" In short, I take it for a recantation of the preference of discourse to observation professed in the Phædo, as far at least as what we call Natural Philosophy is concerned; and an anticipation of the far-off day when observation and analysis should replace logic and the usage of language in Physics.

It may also tend to clearness if I remark at once that neither in the language nor in the arguments in the body of the dialogue (excluding the epilogue of two pages at the end) is there any allusion to or dependence on Plato's peculiar doctrines—to the *νοητόν*, or the *ἰδέαι*, and their relation to the actual world of sense. So far as philosophical or scientific principles are concerned, it might have been written by an Aristotelian or by Bacon.

Grote indeed sees in it "an extreme enlargement of Plato's region of the absolute and objective." "Not only," he says, "each thing named, but each name also, is in his view an *ens absolutum*, not dependent on human choice, not even relative to human apprehension. Each name has its own self-existent Idea, Form, or Type."

For this definite statement he gives no reference. But one may gather from what precedes that he thinks all this is involved in the use of the phrases *αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστιν ὄνομα*, and the similar *αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστι κερκίς* ("the self-existent bodkin"). But the phrase is substantially the same as Aristotle's *τί ἦν εἶναι* (= the logical definition): and there is nothing in the text about "self-existent," while "independence of human knowledge" is distinctly what is not meant, as we shall see. Moreover, whereas the vision of "Ideas" is reserved in the Republic for the philosopher of the future, the *κερκίς* is manufactured by the intelligent Athenian artist (a rather remarkable one, it may be admitted), not copying the broken model, but looking to the

purely human *purpose*—the Final Cause, if you please—for which both instruments were designed—τοιοῦτόν τι ὃ πεφύκει κερκίζειν.

The whole dialogue aims at explaining the analogy between this and the art of naming. I now proceed to the analysis of it.

The dramatic form is not unimportant in appreciating Plato's purposes; though here it may not be specially significant. The interlocutors are Socrates, not as an eager disputant, or a guide of ingenuous youth, but as a friend called in to settle a half playful dispute between Hermogenes (not otherwise conspicuous, I believe, than as the devoted friend and admirer of Socrates, *Xen. passim*) and Cratylus, a leader among the later Heracliteans, to early converse with whom Aristotle attributes Plato's acquaintance with and (as he puts it) acceptance of their tenet that the world of sense is in perpetual flux in such wise as that no knowledge can be had of it.

These Heracliteans, the fury of whose new-born zeal Theodorus describes in the Theætetus, must have made a wide departure from the teaching of their master, who was anything but a sceptic or an agnostic. The *substratum*, indeed, of sensible things he conceived (as do modern physicists and chemists, and as Plato did in the Timæus) to be in a state of continual motion, strain, and antagonism: but all was under fixed law—καθ' εἱμαρμένην—and the result was καλλίστη ἁρμονίη. So that any divergence between him and Plato would turn upon the way of explaining or conceiving how this harmony was produced. But among the epigrammatic and enigmatic sayings attributed to him was one (Met. p. 1012 a 25) πάντα εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι (="there is no such thing as a stable subject"), and one may perhaps gather from Aristotle's variation of the phrase (p. 1005 b 25) accompanied by the qualification καθάπερ τινὲς οἴονται λέγειν Ἡρακ., that a less authentic form of the saying was ταὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι, which Aristotle took to mean "*the self-same subject* is and is not," and conceived to be a contradiction in terms. This conjecture may be an over-refinement; but the dogma, with no limitation or correlative, became the symbol τῶν φασκόντων ἡρακλειτίζειν.

Cratylus, we are told, carried his opinion to such an extreme that, at last, he refused all discourse—*οὐδὲν ᾤετο δεῖν λέγειν*—(we must presume among his philosophical friends), only making motions with his finger. He seems a good way on towards this humour in our dialogue. Only, from Aristotle we should infer that this arose solely from his disbelief in anything stable enough in nature to deserve a name; whereas Plato exhibits him as concurrently holding to such a definiteness and stability in language that it is impossible to speak an untruth: words used must be either true or mere nonsense. And this is the superstition against which I conceive the dialogue is mainly directed.

But, though immovable, he is an easy-going, good-natured dogmatist, and one may fancy Plato having him in his mind when he makes Socrates defend the sect against the wholesale charge of quarrelsomeness which Theodorus makes against them:—*ἴσως τοὺς ἄνδρας μαχομένους ἑώρακας, εἰρηνεύουσι δὲ οὐ συγγέγονας· οὐ γάρ σοι ἑταῖροί εἰσιν.*

Cratylus has been maintaining that each existing Thing has a name naturally fitted to itself; twitting Hermogenes with his want of all the qualities which should belong to a descendant of Hermes; asserting that he has convincing arguments to prove his theory; but never giving any clear explanation of it. Hermogenes cannot believe that there is any other correctness in names than what arises from convention and use: that is the name of anything which any one assigns to it; and it may be lawfully changed as often as one pleases. And he calls in Socrates, with Cratylus' assent, to discuss the matter.

Grote objects that the two members of the sentence formulate "two opinions which are not identical, but opposed." Hermogenes is not speaking by the card: but there is no substantial contradiction. Any one may invent names (I believe it is a common amusement in the nursery); and it may serve the purpose of registering his own thoughts. Only, for any further use he must get at least one other person to adopt it.

Socrates, with the usual disclaimer of knowledge, agrees to help, and begins upon Hermogenes' opinion—of course sceptically. He obtains the admission that propositions (*λόγοι*) may

be true or false—true when they describe Things as they are; false when as they are not; and that for a whole proposition to be true the elements of which it is composed, among which are names, must be true: so that we may justly speak of names as true or false.

This use of the words "true" and "false" may be somewhat loose: "have some relation to truth—some adaptability for the expression of the truth," might better please other readers besides Grote. However, we speak of the parts of a machine being "true," when they work together as they should for the purpose in hand. But Plato was quite aware that a noun and verb are required to express the whole of a truth. The context of the whole dialogue will shew what the substantial meaning is.

Whatever difficulties this admission may lead to, Hermogenes persists that he can conceive no other correctness in names than the fact of their having been assigned, at the pleasure of an individual or a community as the case may be, to a particular thing—ἑκάστῳ. And here, for the present, this discussion drops.

In such cases, where the interlocutors have come to no agreement, the natural conclusion is, that Plato rather means to call attention to some point involved in the question under consideration than to clench any particular solution. In truth, Hermogenes has unconsciously all along indicated one condition —and that the indispensable one—for correctness in nomenclature, by using the word ἑκάστῳ. Distinct names must correspond to distinct individualities in Nature, either numerical or generic. The nomenclator of the nursery may give "proper names" to every person and thing in the room, and his language will be intelligible. But if he gives the same name to the nurse and the chairs he sits on, he will not easily be able to assert any truth. If he starts with one name for nurse and cat (= animal) he may enunciate many truths: if to nurse and mother he will soon acquire the class-conception "woman." And this I conceive to be the main drift of the dialogue: the search for the true ἕκαστα of Nature must precede a scientific nomenclature—or indeed one fitted for common use; only then the process will

be unconscious. If, besides this, the frame and sound of the word can be made to suggest the characteristics of the thing named, so much the better in Socrates' opinion, as we shall see later on.

He now asks whether Hermogenes maintains that, as each man's name for an object is the right name to him, so each man's conception of the essential character of an object is to him its true nature—*ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν ἡ οὐσία εἶναι ἑκάστῳ*—according to the saying of Protagoras; or whether he admits that Things have some stability of existence in themselves. Hermogenes has at times allowed his scepticism to go so far, but now rejects the dogma of Protagoras, as also that of Euthydemus that all attributes belong always to every Thing; and assents to the proposition that Things have each a nature of its own, and active and passive properties independent of men's fancies; so that, if we would do anything with them, we must set to work in accordance with that nature: *Homo, naturæ minister et interpres, tantum facit et intelligit quantum de Naturæ ordine re vel mente observaverit; nec amplius scit aut potest.* Grote calls this "carrying the doctrine of the absolute further than its modern defenders" (p. 514 note).

The existence of a world independent of our opinions about it being granted, Socrates recommences and carries on the enquiry in the usual Platonic form, somewhat prolix and, may be, overstraining verbal analogies. Each Thing has its definite character and definite active and passive qualities:—if we wish to act on them, we must act in the way and with the instrument in and with which Nature commands that we should act and Things be acted upon. And, in like manner, if we are to speak of or describe (*λέγειν*), or teach about Things, our language must be such as will conform to the *capacity for being spoken about* which Things by nature possess, and as our means of expression allow. Naming, then, being part of the art of speaking, names must be given suited to the nature of Things: as with the *κερκίς*[1] we separate warp and woof, so by naming we discriminate between natural Things: and this is teaching: *ὄνομα ἄρα διδασκαλικόν τί ἐστιν ὄργανον καὶ διακριτικὸν τῆς οὐσίας, ὥσπερ*

[1] I am not sufficiently acquainted with the mystery of weaving to venture on translating the word. See Heindorf's note and Politicus p. 282.

κερκὶς ὑφάσματος. And as the artisan makes the κερκίς according to his conception of the nature of weaving, but the weaver must be the final judge of his success; so there must have been primitive name-givers, who gave names suited to what they thought the nature of Things; but the user of the names—the teacher, the dialectician, the philosopher—must be the judge of "their fitness." And this imposer of names, Socrates suggests, must have been the founder of civil life, the νομοθέτης—the somewhat more concrete conception among the Greeks answering to the "Social Contract" of the last century.

And so he concludes that name-giving is no such simple matter as Hermogenes would make it; and that Cratylus would seem to be in the right.

What kind of theory Cratylus would have propounded had he roused himself to the effort without the intervention of Socrates one does not know. φύσει might be taken to mean something implicated in the physical nature of man, as roaring in the lion or singing in the bird. But Socrates sets this aside (p. 389 D), laying it down that names of quite different sounds may equally serve to express the same Thing, as is seen by the variety of languages. The import of his argument is that language is artificial, not spontaneous; the art consisting in adapting vocal sounds, one way or another, to perform the proper function of names—the indication and discrimination of Things.

Hermogenes has nothing to say against the argument; but confesses that he cannot rid himself at once of his old convictions, and begs Socrates to explain by example in what this natural correctness of names consists. Socrates reminds him that he pretends to no knowledge, and has only engaged to help in a common search after it. The most "correct" form of enquiry, he suggests, would be to pay a good price, with thanks into the bargain, to some wise man like Protagoras. This Grote admits to be joking, and is angry accordingly. But, when this advice is declined and Hermogenes is referrred to Homer, he solemnly maintains that Plato was speaking "not in mockery [this is hardly the right word any how] but *bona fide*" when he makes Socrates ask οὐκ οἴει τοῦτο σεμνόν τι εἶναι, γνῶναι ὅπῃ

ποτὲ ὀρθῶς ἔχει ἐκεῖνον τὸν ποταμὸν Ξάνθον καλεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ Σκάμανδρον; εἰ δὲ βούλει, περὶ τῆς ὄρνιθος ἣν λέγει ὅτι

χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κυμίνδιν.

φαῦλον ἡγεῖ τὸ μάθημα;

However Socrates pronounces this knowledge too high for such as he; but thinks that something may be got by human wit out of the two names given to Hector's son, Scamandrius and Astyanax. He chooses to think Homer approved the latter as "correct." And why? he asks. Homer gives the reason "because his father Hector was the protector of the City." Now "Hector" and "Astyanax," though quite different in sound, when analyzed may be seen to have the same meaning: Homer then, conceived that it is "correct" to name the child after the father. Now it is quite correct to call the offspring of lions, horses, or cattle, by names having the same signification as that of their parents, because, by the established order of Nature, they resemble them in their qualities. If such a portent were to occur as that a cow should give birth to a horse, we should presumably not call it a calf, but a colt. The names lion, horse, &c., or any names which, on analysis, should prove to be synonymous with them, denote, in fact, fixed, natural, hereditary kinds—races: ἐξ ἑκάστου γένους ἕτερον τοιοῦτον ἔκγονον—they are generic names[1]. And so the offspring of man is man. But this rule of correctness only justifies our giving equivalent names to successive generations of the same family just so far as they are found to possess special hereditary qualities, which is very far from being a general fact. So Homer's reason was a bad one, and the name (in the event) incorrect. The names of heroes and men in poetry and tradition do, it is true, to a great extent correspond to their qualities and fortunes, as shewn by examples; sometimes, perchance by accident, often at the poet's will—εἴ τέ τις τύχη ἔθετο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα εἴ τε καὶ ποιητής τις—but many proper names are given after men's ancestors; many from fond anticipations of their career; and altogether the investigation of

[1] Ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ is with Aristotle not only the foundation of classification in Zoology, but the type by which he explains all passages from σύνολον to σύνολον or ὂν δυνάμει to ὂν ἐντελεχείᾳ.

their correctness is best left alone—τοιαῦτα δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι ἐᾶν: in short, families are not natural classes. Grote says "Plato regards proper names as illustrating, even better than the common, the doctrine of inherent rectitude in naming"!

Before thus dismissing proper names, however, Socrates had resolved many of them, more or less plausibly, into significant elements (as Grote observes, most Greek proper names are significant); the Homeric and historical names, perhaps, more plausibly, and the Hesiodic and divine names with more extravagance, as he and Hermogenes become aware; and he attributes his suddenly acquired wisdom to recent contact with and inspiration from Euthyphron, the mountebank-enthusiast to whom we are introduced in the dialogue of that name. He proposes to yield to the influence for the day, and next day to obtain purification from it, by the most fitting exorciser, whether priest or sophist.

The question, how far Plato is serious in his etymologies, taken in detail, is the one which seems chiefly to have exercised the minds of commentators. I do not pretend to answer it categorically. The passage just quoted, and many parallel ones, and the evident enjoyment of the fun by Hermogenes (though Grote is blind to it), seem to me conclusive that Plato had no thought of propounding an elaborate history and analysis of the Greek language which he would stand by. And though the mere absurdity, to us of the 19th century, of a derivation proposed by the learned of any previous time cannot, by itself, be accepted as proof that the proposer was not in earnest, yet there is a whole class of those in the Cratylus to the illegitimacy of which I cannot easily believe Plato can have been blind. A master of his own language—and that the living Greek[1], lending itself to the formation of derivatives and compounds to an unparalleled extent, as he must himself have constantly experienced (he somewhere apologizes for ποιότης)—he surely must have *felt* that terminations like -ησις, -ια, -αιος,

[1] Whewell used to say English was a singular instance of a dead language still spoken: when he had to invent new abstract or scientific names (of which he was a great manufacturer), he was driven to form them from the still living Greek.

must stand disconnected from the stems to which they are affixed, and must have everywhere the same force:—that κίνησις cannot be resolved into κιν-ιεσις while φρονησις=φρο-ονησις, or δειλία into δει-λιαν while κακία=κακ-ια, &c. But while contending that he was not altogether serious, and indeed believing that there is some quizzing in the fun, I do not see any probability in Stallbaum's suggestion of certain men *acerbissimo sale perfricandos* as an explanation.

My own impression is, that this part of the dialogue stands to the rest much in the relation which the "myths" in other dialogues stand to the rest in them: "fanciful illustrations invented to expand and enliven general views" (Grote). Having no definite example of a scientifically constructed language at hand; believing, indeed, that the construction of such an one must at all events wait for the advent of the perfect philosopher, and would not be much needed by him; it was yet not in accordance with his disposition to give a bare and dry statement of the conception without some concrete illustrating example. And, if this be the truth, I can equally conceive that the more obviously fanciful the example the better fitted it would seem for his purpose; or, on the other hand, that any amount of serious philological speculation might be interspersed in it. Assuredly, the cautions interposed in different places against the difficulties and snares which beset the exploring philologer are both serious and judicious, and have no appearance of being, as Grote asserts, "only violent efforts to reconcile the Platonic *à priori* theory [a pure fancy of Grote's own], in some way or other, with existing facts of language."

The comments which I proceed to make will mainly have reference to what I conceive to be the general course and philosophical intent of the dialogue, only noticing such details as seem to me to bear on the conclusion ultimately arrived at (such as the discussion on Astyanax), or to have some special interest in themselves.

Resuming the investigation, Socrates observes that they have got at a certain type to work by: as I understand it, by the method of etymology, resolving each name into elements themselves significant, so that the compound shall express the

characteristics (or some principal ones) of the thing named in terms of words having a simpler meaning.

He proposes to begin with the names of the permanent existences and generated kinds in Nature, as the most likely to have been carefully studied by the namers: some of them, he says, may even have been derived from a higher than human inspiration. I do not doubt the seriousness of this suggestion; but we shall see that he refuses to take it as an excuse for shirking as full an investigation as may be possible.

One might expect, from this exordium, to have the outlines, or at least the rudiments of a cosmology and a scientific nomenclature adapted to it, if Plato had much faith in the possibility of it. He begins fairly with *θεός*. This name, he thinks, was given by the early Greeks when they had no belief in any other gods than the celestial bodies, whose constant motions (their most divine function in his and Aristotle's view) are expressed by it. The name thus "correctly" given was applied to other divine powers by extension: and so became "incorrect," one must take it. He does not dwell upon the point, but it is important both for Philology and Logic (cf. J. S. Mill, Logic *Names* pp. 40, 41). After this his instances become rather miscellaneous, and he runs through *δαίμων*, *ἥρως*, *ἄνθρωπος*, *ψυχή*, *σῶμα*, explaining them on popular, Orphic, Anaxagorean, or other conceptions, trusting to the inspiration of Euthyphron, and fearing that he may be becoming more wise than is canny.

Hermogenes then proposes the names of the popular gods of Greece. As in the Philebus, Socrates protests against the assumption that we know anything about their true attributes and functions and, consequently, about the correctness of their names: all he can do is to resolve the popular names into the expression of the functions popularly attributed to them. He extracts some moralities, and I think some fun out of the enquiry[1]. Grote says Plato thought these proper names more "especially" illustrative than others.

[1] Surely no one will take Poseidon = *ποσὶ δεσμός* (his legs shackled by the water) as serious. The mode of eliciting "Ηρα from *ἀήρ* is clearly borrowed from the first scene in the "Knights" of Aristophanes. I take the oppor-

The first name, however, among these gods, Ἑστία (who in truth has a more primeval character than the Olympians) serves to introduce and confront one with the other the two doctrines, of flux and stability, on which Socrates will have more to say later on, and the reconcilement of which was a main endeavour in Plato's philosophy. Socrates takes the custom of first offering to her to imply that she was conceived as representing the fundamental principle or essence of Nature. And he so manipulates the letters as to fit, alternatively, either the notion of Οὐσία (= stable nature) or Ὠσία (a coined derivative from ὠθεῖν), the impulse, the cause of perpetual flux. He concludes καὶ ταῦτα δὴ ὡς παρὰ μηδὲν εἰδότων εἰρήσθω, and then, suddenly inspired, he sees a whole hive of wisdom: the nomenclators were extreme Heracliteans, and names are mainly formed in accordance with that theory. He does not, however, follow up this hint while dealing with the Olympian gods, nor indeed, where one would expect it, in explaining sun, moon[1], &c., but only when Hermogenes proposes ταῦτα τὰ καλὰ ὀνόματα, intellectual and moral qualities—prudence, intelligence, justice and the like.

We know well enough that it was precisely here that Plato completely broke away from the Heracliteans; and accordingly Socrates begins with describing them as men who, having made themselves giddy with speculation, charge the universe with the fault which is in their own brain. Here therefore, if anywhere, it is likely enough that *acerbissimum sal*, or at least banter, is to be looked for. And here Socrates himself admits that there is some allusion to what others have said or written, running through pp. 411—413, and apparently extending further in one or both directions: Ἑρ. φαίνει μοι ταῦτα μὲν ἀκηκοέναι

tunity of calling attention to the earlier explanation of Κρόνος (= καθαρὸς νοῦς) being the son of οὐρανός, because it is the place whence οἱ μετεωρολόγοι derive that entity. It reminds one of Repub. v. 4, p. 529, and seems to me satirical in both places.

[1] The commentators do not seem to have observed that, incidentally, Plato informs us that the Phrygian names for ὕδωρ, πῦρ, and κύων (the legitimate brothers, by Grimm's law, of water, fire and hound) differed slightly from the Greek. He or some contemporary deserves credit for more insight into a foreign language than, I think, was common among their countrymen.

του καὶ οὐκ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. Σω. τί τἆλλα; Ἑρ. οὐ πάνυ. Σω. ἄκουε δή· ἴσως γὰρ ἄν σε καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἐξαπατήσαιμι, ὡς οὐκ ἀκηκοὼς λέγω.

The general scope of this section seems to be that these mental qualities or faculties are taken, consistently with the scheme of the dialogue, as all relating to the physical world and human conduct in respect thereto; and the names are so interpreted as to imply that every good quality points to perceiving or aiding the flux of the elements, and the bad ones to opposing or stopping it (Heraclitus himself required both impulse and opposition for his harmony). But the word δικαιοσύνη gives occasion to a digression, professedly relating conversations with Heracliteans: and this may be all that Hermogenes has in view. Part of the text is obscure, and may be corrupt; but I think the general sense is pretty clear, and worth dwelling on; premising that Plato's own conception of Justice was the due adjustment and co-ordination of the parts of any organic whole or system—be it man's soul, civil community, or the Κόσμος—so as to answer the good purpose for which it is intended; and that he conceived the Supreme Efficient Cause [to use Aristotelian or School terms] of the Κόσμος to be Divine Power, directing and guiding the elements to the Final Purpose—τὸ ἀγαθόν.

He begins: "To explain the word δίκαιον is difficult. Many agree up to a certain point: but beyond that they differ. For those who hold that all is in motion conceive that the mass of things is of such a nature as to have no other function but to move on; but that through this mass there is something penetrating *by the instrumentality of which* (δι' οἷ) all generation is effected [the πῦρ of Heraclitus]. And this, they say, must be the subtlest thing in Nature, that nothing may exclude its entry; and the swiftest, that all else may be at rest in comparison with it. And so, as this element regulates every thing by its passage through them, it is fitly called διαϊόν, or δίκαιον for ease of the mouth: and so, as we were saying, many agree that this [element] is τὸ δίκαιον."

So far language and sense are clear. In what follows I cannot but think Buttmann's emendation (mentioned by Hein-

dorf) must be right—*ὅτι ταὐτό ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ αἴτιον· δι' ὃ γὰρ* ["the purpose for which"] *γίγνεται, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ αἴτιον*, whatever other alterations may be further required. Any how, I take the general sense to be: "I was not satisfied, and in private conference came to the conclusion [Ficinus has *percepi*. Was his text different?] that Justice must be identical with the Final Cause. And so I persisted in asking 'what then is Justice, if these things are so?' But I only got answers one more foolish than another, and was charged with overstepping the due limits of discussion. And at last some one said it is the *νοῦς* of Anaxagoras—a self-determined separate existence which permeates all things and orders the Universe. Which left me in greater perplexity than ever." I presume, as to how this consisted with the rest of the doctrine.

Curiously enough, this suggestion of a permeating subtle element is, with a slight modification, one of the last new things in Cosmologies. "Ultra-mundane corpuscles, in infinite numbers even compared with those of other particles of matter, of dimensions excessively small, but flying about in all directions with velocities enormously great," are suggested as the instrumental cause of gravitation, and so keeping the Universe together (*Lesage*, quoted in *Unseen Universe*). But then Clerk-Maxwell plays the part of Socrates, and asks what governs this and supplies it with power? (*Encyc. Brit.* article *Atom*).

More etymologies follow, mixed with cautions about the dangers, on one side and the other, to which such investigations are liable: until, at last, Hermogenes has had enough of this "vigorous shattering to pieces of names"; and asks what is the meaning and correctness of the words to which Socrates has tracked so many of them, *ἰόν, ῥέον, δοῦν*?

And so the chase comes to an end. And the substantial result so far appears to be (beyond the first requirement that names should correspond to things, *ἕκαστον ἑκάστῳ*) that, after excluding foreign words, and allowing for disfigurements made for euphony or capriciously, the mass of words in use are derived from older ones, and that their "correctness" consists in their expressing the qualities, or at least some distinguishing

qualities, of Natural Things and Kinds in terms of older and simpler words.

I believe it is agreed among modern philologers that very few absolutely new, arbitrarily coined, words have been added to civilized speech in the last 2000 years: only the new combinations have, I suppose, often been suggested by very trivial analogies to the stems or elements.

Socrates, thus challenged, after pointing out hindrances to this investigation which might well excuse him from entering upon it, admits that his theory would be defective if it did not deal with the primitive words at which a complete analysis must ultimately arrive. All derived words would express the characteristics of the things named in terms of these primitives. But how do these primitives answer the requirement that every name should put in evidence the characteristic qualities of the Things of which they are the names—*δηλοῦν οἷον ἕκαστόν ἐστι τῶν ὄντων?*

He can see no other way than by their in some measure imitating these qualities. The deaf and dumb imitate things by gestures—pointing upwards and downwards for height and depth; gamboling like a horse &c.: painters indicate the outward forms and colours of objects with the help of pigments furnished by Nature, and cognate with the colours of the objects. And so, the human voice is given us by Nature as the instrument of speech; and with this, he thinks, we must somehow imitate that which we wish to express by language—the *οὐσίαι*, the fundamental qualities, the composition of which in various proportions makes up our conception of the essential qualities of all existing Things. What we call onomatopœia would not answer this purpose, and he summarily rejects it: cock-crowing is not speaking. What has to be done, if the theory is true and capable of being applied, is on the one hand to ascertain and discriminate all the fundamental capacities of the human voice, out of which the syllables of human speech are compounded, and[1] on the other hand to go through a similar process with the primary qualities of all the Things around us; and then to see whether we cannot compare and mentally assimilate

[1] The text seems confused, but all agree as to the meaning.

these primitive sounds and natural qualities respectively; and starting with these cognate elements in either rank, to build up syllables, words, and the whole structure of speech in correspondence with the whole structure of the universe.

This was the task the originators of language had before them. How far they succeeded in the main Socrates does not feel himself competent to enquire, but proposes to examine the small sample of the work they have apparently got before them. They seem to have arrived at three primitive words and the qualities of Things expressed by them—ῥέον (flux), ἰόν (penetration), δοῦν (resistance or strain). No doubt there are many more (p. 424 B). But, as to these, though it may seem ridiculous, he thinks the sound (ρ), produced by the trilling motion of the tongue, was taken as a natural representative of all motion; that (ι) has a thin sound fit to represent the penetration of subtle elements among masses; and that δ and τ, produced by pressure of the tongue, typify resistance and strain. These, he thinks, are the explanations of the "correctness" of the three assumed primitives. And he finds similar explanations of the use of other letters of the alphabet in the formation of other words; and concludes that this seems to him the truth about the correctness of names, εἰ μή τι ἄλλο Κρατύλος ὅδε λέγει.

The physical theory here implied is substantially that of Bacon.

"It clearly appears from this passage," says R. Leslie Ellis commenting upon De Augm. III. (p. 566), "that Bacon's doctrine was that the forms of all substances might be determined by combining the results of a limited number of investigations of the forms of schematisms[1] and motions, or, as he elsewhere calls them, of *simple natures*."

In the earlier part of the paragraph Bacon had referred the germ of the doctrine to Plato—"*virum sublimis ingenii, quique veluti in rupe excelsâ omnia circumspiciebat*"—though the inventor, he thought, had lost the fruit of it by wandering into the region of Metaphysics and Theology. There may or may not be truth in the latter clause of the sentence. But a view

[1] Schematisms do not appear here; but they play a large part in the formation of the elements in the Timæus.

of a wide expanse from a high rock does not always suffice to shew the difficulties of the country and the way to overcome them. Bacon himself, in the age of Galileo, was not aware of them, and thought himself close to the border of the Promised Land. Socrates at the end of this dialogue fears that the discovery of the true method of physical research is too hard for him or Cratylus; and perhaps this was Plato's real opinion (as it certainly was the right one); and therefore he never attempted it, but betook himself to the classificatory processes of the Sophist, the Politicus—and the pumpkin. But it seems worth remarking that the "simple natures" he has here selected, *τὸ ῥέον* and *τὸ δοῦν*, motion and strain (which indeed Heraclitus typified in the bent bow), are fundamental in modern Physics, and *τὸ ἰόν* may perhaps be taken dimly to represent the *latentes processus*—chemical affinity, electricity and what not—not even yet reduced to pure dynamical principles. I have elsewhere pointed out Plato's preference for geometrical explanations over anything savouring of vague analogies or "occult qualities," Phl. Jl. Vol. VIII. p. 162.

As to the linguistic theory, I should not have thought it necessary to insist on the truth of the first and main position, that, for language to be intelligible, general names must represent *genera* more or less founded on the order of Nature, were it not that such a thinker as J. S. Mill took some years to "recognize kinds as realities in Nature, and not mere distinctions for convenience" (Autobio. p. 241); and nevertheless, after making the discovery, kept in his Logic (4th Edn. *Names* p. 28) the statement that it is more logical to define a class as "the indefinite multitude of individuals denoted by a general name" than to define a general name as "the name of a class[1]."

The other theory, that of the origin of language, is, I suppose, the first guess on record on what has been the subject of guessing ever since, and is never likely to be more than guessed at. And Grote thinks it entitled to an honourable place among the guesses (p. 531, *note* g). Curiously enough, while writing this paper I read in the Saturday Review a notice of,

[1] See observations on Mill's philosophy in Phil. Jl. Vol. VII. *Misconceptions of Aristotle.*

I suppose, the latest of them, in "The origin of the Greek and Gothic roots, by James Byrne, Dean of Clonfert"; and, to judge from this account, it might seem a modern expanded and corrected reproduction of Plato's conception. He divides the history of words into three parts,—that of their origin, of their change in utterance and form, and of their subsequent change in meaning. Plato's etymologies start the second stage, however unsuccessfully in details if serious; his treatment of the word θεός indicates the third. Inquiry into the origin Dean Byrne says "has been pronounced to be chimerical," and his object is to disprove this "axiom of despair." And his view is not that of Prof. Max Müller (which I believe is that of Grimm), that there existed in primitive man a feeling of preestablished harmony between the "ring" of certain sounds of the voice and primary intellectual conceptions as they suggest themselves to the perceiving mind, but to a distinct perception of a resemblance or analogy between the shaping of the mouth, the control of the breath, &c. on one side, and "contact," "enclosure," "softness," "separation," "motion," &c., as the characteristics of things in nature. What position Dean Byrne holds among philologists, or what acceptance these views are likely to win, I do not know. I will only add, on this head, that Hermogenes' original opinion that "convention" could *found* a language among men who had no rudimentary elements of it, seems to me a somewhat wilder theory than that of the "social contract" as the beginning of social life among men previously solitary.

Cratylus, who had previously held Hermogenes at arm's length, shews no disposition to discuss what he has already made up his mind about. When appealed to, he somewhat ambiguously gives an indiscriminate assent to all that has been said in the words of Achilles to Ajax, ἐν Λιταῖς (which, it should be observed, preluded a practical refusal to act in accordance with his advice). But he is unable to escape the usual fate, and has to submit to be questioned. Socrates, ironically applying to himself an admonition against dogmatism clearly meant for Cratylus, proceeds with his examination, as I conceive with the purpose of shewing, if not to him yet to the

reader, that names are at best imperfect representatives of Things.

We are agreed, he says, that names, to be fit for teaching, should indicate the character of the thing named; and that this implies an art and a corresponding artist. Now artists in other lines are some better and some worse, and produce better or worse work accordingly: must not this be true also of lawgivers and nomenclators? Cratylus sees the net closing upon him, and denies the analogy: neither lawgiver nor nomenclater can diverge from what is exactly right without making his work an absolute failure—mere nonsense. In fact, the statement of a falsehood is inconceivable: you can neither *λέγειν, φάναι, εἰπεῖν,* or *προσειπεῖν* such a thing; at the utmost you may *φθέγγεσθαι*—pronounce the sound, but it will be a sound with no meaning.

The modern reader perhaps may think, with Socrates, that this is too refined for such as he. But I suppose there is no doubt the doctrine was maintained in the schools.

Cratylus having thus, while nominally admitting that naming is an art, refused to allow that it is liable to the same imperfections as other arts, Socrates approaches him on another side[1]. He presses upon him the relation of copy (*μίμημα*) to original, and the analogy of painting. Whether the imitation is by voice of the *οὐσία* or by pencil of the outward appearance, the copy is one thing and the original is another: and just as one may single out the picture of a woman and present it to the eyes of a man as his, may he not present to his ears the name "woman" as his: and if we may thus give an unfit—a *false*—name, so surely, we may add a false verb—*ῥῆμα*,—and so construct a false sentence—*λόγος*. Cratylus, reluctantly and unconvinced, will "let it be so," to please Socrates; who has to be content with having so far shaken him in his absolute rejection of the possibility of falsehood—*οὐδὲν γὰρ δεῖ νῦν πάνυ διαμάχεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ*. And then he gets nearer to the main argument. Recurring to the analogy of language and painting

[1] Grote catching at the word *διαλλαχθῶμεν* calls this "proposing a compromise" on the original question, and a "withdrawal of the pretention of his theory"—(whose theory?).

as imitations, he points out that the painter may use all the proper pigments and express all the proper lines, neither more or less; but often omits some of the proper ones and introduces colours and shapes which are not in the original; and so produces a better or a worse, but necessarily an imperfect copy. Why may not this be the case with the name given?

Cratylus' reply opens an important line of speculation.

"Names, you say, are copies of Things, and may be imperfect ones. But take another case. Written words are in like manner copies of the vocal sounds or names. Yet if the scribe makes a mistake in but one letter, the result is not the same word badly written, but another word" (he should surely have added "sometimes").

Socrates in substance replies: If the constitution of Natural Things was as definite as that of numbers this might be so: the copy might and should represent all the qualities of the original in their proper proportions. But what we have to imitate in Nature is not the definite individual Thing, but qualities sufficient to mark off one class or kind from others. If a superior Power were to make a copy of Cratylus having exactly and absolutely all the attributes of the original, mental and bodily, it would not be a copy, but Cratylus himself over again: *ex vi termini* a copy is not a repetition of the Natural Thing, but something different. Cratylus admits that Socrates speaks reasonably; but the argument leaves him as little convinced that names must be imperfect, as Hermogenes was that there must be some "correctness" in them. It may be worth observing here that Plato and Aristotle, in their Physics, were thinking much more, and indeed knew much more, of the organic than of the inorganic world; and that this observation of Plato's is the accepted truth as to the former, where "kinds" are defined by an always imperfect resemblance in the individuals to an hereditary *type:* whereas absolute identity in every quality, in every molecule of any named chemical substance, is postulated by the chemist.

And so Socrates comes to the last matter discussed with Hermogenes—the origin of language: "Names, you agree, are demonstrative of Things; and existing names are traceable up

to primitives. Have you any better suggestion as to the ground of correctness of primitives than mine; or would you prefer Hermogenes' notion that they are conventional, or derive their meaning from common use?" Cratylus vehemently rejects these last suggestions, and accepts the first and the specific explanations of ῥ, &c. Upon which Socrates begins to puzzle him with apparent contradictions in actual language and finally forces him to admit, or at least not to deny (for silence gives consent), that there is much that is conventional in it as it exists, and that convention, or at any rate common usage, does demonstrate Things to those who are acquainted with the usage.

And then he returns to the first principle established with Hermogenes, that names are instrumental for teaching the nature of Things, of which Cratylus is so convinced that he lays down absolutely that "he who knows the names knows *τὰ πράγματα*"—natural philosophy; and even that this is the best if it be not the only way, not only for teaching but for original research.

Socrates points out, firstly, that this presupposes that the name-maker is infallible: to which Cratylus replies that the consistency of the etymological results obtained proves that, at least, their principle was right. But Socrates contends that they are not so consistent as he has made them appear; that many of his etymologies are probably wrong; particularly those by which he makes out that all bad qualities are referred to stopping the flow of things. (This, in truth, is only restoring the Heraclitean theory to its original shape: permanent rest, according to Heraclitus, was death; but life consisted in the war of elements—motion and strain.)

But, leaving this topic, he asks whether the first name-makers must not have already known the nature of Things when they assigned to them the correct names. Cratylus suggests divine inspiration; but Socrates contends that there is too much uncertainty and contradiction in language to admit this; or, if some part is thus inspired and some not, there is no criterion to distinguish the parts. And so Cratylus is reduced to admit that it is reasonable to suppose the name-makers, if they gave correct names, must have acquired their

knowledge in some other way than by Logic; such as by comparison of one Thing with another cognate with it, and by analysis of each differing kind.

And, finally, if there is such a method, must it not be essentially the better one—to learn by studying the Thing itself, rather than a copy, which we have seen must be imperfect? Cratylus admits it must be so. How this study is to be carried out, says Socrates, is perhaps beyond my capacity and yours to say: *ἀγαπητὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὁμολογήσασθαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ὀνομάτων ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτὰ ἐξ αὑτῶν καὶ μαθητέον καὶ ζητητέον ἢ ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων.* To which Cratylus answers *φαίνεται.*

And then follows what I have called the epilogue: a protest, as I conceive it, that there exists—be it only in dreamland and as an aspiration—something apprehensible by the mind besides and beyond what the deepest study of the qualities and relations of sensible Things can lead to, whether this sensible world be in flux or not: and an equally strong protest (in which Aristotle joins, Met. p. 1009 b 33) against the despairing agnosticism involved in the extreme Heraclitean theory. It is to be observed that Cratylus, his old friend and a conspicuous person, accepts this belief without any hesitation, while intimating that he is likely to remain a Heraclitean to the end of his life.

Aristotle tells us that Plato continued to believe in the extreme doctrine of flux as negativing knowledge of sensible things; but conceived that the generalizations and definitions his master had sought for, as the basis of Ethics, concerned something other than sensible things; and this kind of existences he called Ideas, to which sensible Things are related by *μέθεξις.* This must be the impression which Aristotle carried away from Plato's lectures and works: but it does not follow that it exactly represents Plato's thought. I think the Cratylus proves that he did conceive that there is stability or definiteness enough in sensible things to enable men to discover their qualities and classify them accordingly, with, at least, the sort of accuracy which belongs to a painting; while the Timæus shews us that he conceived their *sub-*

stratum to consist in "schematism," and "motion," of an undefined something.

Grote conceives that the Protagorean doctrine is mentioned in the dialogue as "opposed to the theory" which he imagines Plato "lays down respecting names"; and thereupon enters at length upon a statement and vindication of that doctrine, pretty much repeating what he had written in his comment on the Theætetus. It was not necessary for the understanding of the Cratylus to examine what that doctrine really was. All that Socrates wanted was to ascertain that Hermogenes admitted the existence of an external world with laws of its own independent of our thoughts about it. I therefore did not think it advisable to interrupt the thread of the argument in order to discuss the question. But perhaps it may not be out of place to say something of it at the conclusion.

Grote, though of opinion that "Plato has not been very careful in appreciating the *real bearing* of the doctrine," sums it up almost in Plato's own words: "what appears to each man to be true, *is true to him*, however it may appear to others" (the italics are his own). And he apparently accepts and defends the doctrine on his own behalf.

To me, I confess, the emphasized words are absolutely unmeaning: *ψοφεῖν ἔγωγ' ἂν φαίην, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τι χαλκεῖον κινήσειε κρούσας.* A man may believe that the world is flat. But what more is meant by adding that this is true to him? Is the world flat to him? If he acts on his belief and, journeying straight on as he deems, finds himself back after a time at his starting-point, will he not himself say that his former opinion *was* false? What does Grote mean by "true"? what *ὀρθότης* is there in the *ὄνομα* as used by him?

However, Protagoras may have said this, as Grote does; though it may be well to bear in mind Aristotle's shrewd observation, *οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναγκαῖον ἃ τις λέγει, ταῦτα καὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν.* But I do not feel quite sure that he did. "Man is the measure of all things" does not seem exactly the same thing as "each man's judgment is true to himself."

What we know of Protagoras would not perhaps lead us to expect that his treatise, if it were recovered, would be found very precise and scientific in its teaching, or carefully to follow out principles to their results. And a study of the passages in the Theætetus and Aristotle, and such others as I have at hand, relating to his doctrine, inclines me to think that what there was in the treatise, beyond general declamation about the variety of men's opinions and the absence of any adequate test of their truth, was Berkeley's fundamental dogma that there is no *substratum* to sensation; and that he did not distinctly propound, perhaps did not perceive, the agnostic deductions which follow therefrom.

Socrates' parting words to Protagoras in the Theætetus (p. 178) are to the effect:—"It may be, as you say, that man is the measure of all such things as colour, weight, and the like; inasmuch as each man has the test within himself: judging of his own sensation, he judges truly as to what that sensation is. But has he also within himself a test for determining his own future, so that what he judges will come to pass will so come to pass as far as his own sensation is concerned?" Protagoras is not there, with his head and neck above ground, to answer; and his friend Theodorus gives him up. Grote, however, does really *seem* to answer "yes": "instead of saying *ἀληθὴς ἐμοὶ ἡ ἐμὴ αἴσθησις*, we might with quite equal truth put *ἀληθὴς...ἡ ἐμὴ νόησις*: in this respect *αἴσθησις* and *νόησις* are on a par"! (p. 347 note *o*; and the whole passage in the text, beginning with p. 346). I do not mean that he *τοῦτο καὶ ὑπέλαβε*.

So far then, we may infer that Protagoras did maintain what Plato is willing to concede to him, that a man's own sensation *is* what it *is* to him; but not that he perceived the impossibility of founding a knowledge of the course of Nature upon this dogma.

Turning now to Aristotle's notices we find him (3 Met. p. 1007 b 22) *arguing* that those who maintain Protagoras' saying [evidently "man the measure"] *must admit* that distinct predication is impossible. And after a long discussion, by which he conceives he has rid us of his other agnostic opponents, he

repeats (p. 1009 a b) that "Protagoras' saying *must* stand or fall with their opinion: *for*, &c."

From which I infer that Protagoras did not distinctly teach that "truth is only what a man troweth."

I believe the common opinion is that his doctrine, be it what it may, was founded on or suggested by those of Heraclitus or his followers. If this opinion is derived from what we read in the Theætetus, I submit with diffidence, that the true conclusion is that Protagoras never said so. For the purposes which Plato had in view he wished to connect the two dogmas "man the measure" and "all is flux." But, to do so, he is obliged to make Socrates suggest that Protagoras *must* have adopted the Heraclitean dogma in private and among his disciples, while speaking in riddles to the mob of readers: and this he says and argues at length to Theætetus (who had conned the treatise over and over again) instead of quoting any passage in proof.

And this observation, as I conceive, displaces the authority of Sextus Empiricus (as I find him quoted in Preller's *Hist. Phil.*) who commences φησὶν οὖν ὁ ἀνήρ. He cannot have had the treatise before him, and may, probably, I suppose, have taken his impression from the Theætetus.

I do not know whether there are other authorities. But, turning to Aristotle's refutation of his opponents (3 Met. c. 3, &c.), we find the Heracliteans treated apart, and if I am not mistaken Protagoras (with others) classed as propounders of the doctrine τὸ φαινόμενον ἀληθές.

His own fundamental assumption is of the existence of Subject and Attribute—the Thing (ὄν, σύνολον) and its qualities, properties, &c. (τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ); and his fundamental axiom is τὸ αὐτὸ ἅμα ὑπάρχειν τε καὶ μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἀδύνατον τῷ αὐτῷ. He defends his principles against various opponents, eristic, sceptical, and agnostic, through several chapters. Among these the Heracliteans are singled out as denying that there is any individuality in Nature—anything sufficiently stable to be called αὐτό, or to admit of being the subject of predication. And he clenches his arguments against them (1010 a 16) by observing, firstly, that the continual changes in the matter, as

supposed by them, are gradual, so that the greater part of the mass of a so-called object continues the same for a sensible time, and may well bear the same name until the change comes to be considerable; and, secondly and more conclusively, *ὅτι οὐ ταὐτόν ἐστι τὸ μεταβάλλειν κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ποιόν· κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ ποσὸν ἔστω μὴ μένον· ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος ἅπαντα γιγνώσκομεν*: a statement over which he and Plato might surely shake hands.

There are also eristic and agnostic opponents, requiring proof of the first principles of proof, who are dealt with earlier. But, after some more observations upon the Heracliteans, he turns to another class (1010 b 1), *περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας, ὡς* [*οὐ*][1] *πᾶν τὸ φαινόμενον ἀληθές, πρῶτον μὲν κ.τ.λ.*

I do not suppose it is necessary to offer proof that Protagoras did dwell on the merely personal relations of the actual sensation. But that he is one of those here intended seems clear from the fact that Plato is quoted by name, and his argument in the Theætetus (addressed to Protagoras) is adopted. And the final and clenching argument is that the doctrine involves the denial of an external world, by making it dependent on the existence of sentient beings within it. Berkeley had his answer to this, which was not open to Protagoras.

I may add that his quarrel with the geometricians (Met. p. 998 a 3) is the same as Berkeley's, and equally founded on allowing nothing but the immediate sensation. If one might trust Diogenes Laertius, he denied subjective as well as objective *substratum* to sensation—*μηδὲν εἶναι ψυχὴν παρὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις*—as some modern schools do. But he seems to refer to the Theætetus as his authority; and I cannot find anything like it there.

If Protagoras did hold these opinions without seeing what they lead to, he has eminent modern followers: men who *think* and study the mechanism of their own thoughts; but have

[1] Would not this *οὐ* be better away? Retaining it, I do not see how else to construe than "[To prove that] every phenomenon is not true, I first of all say some phenomena are true"—which seems awkward. I should like to print *Ἀλήθεια*, and understand it of the treatise, as Plato in Theætetus (cf. preceding phrases 1009 b. 1).

never given much attention to the system of modern physical science. The truth is that the discoverable laws of Nature are not laws of "sequence of phenomena," but of the qualities and relations of Things, the existence of which is *assumed*. Only, Aristotle bewildered himself and wasted his great powers in endeavours to define, or at least to shew how we may expect to be able to define, these Things: whereas our chemists and physicists, like *οἱ Ἀντισθένειοι καὶ οἱ οὕτως ἀπαίδευτοι*, are content to infer their existence, and investigate and teach their qualities —*ποιόν τί ἐστι*—by means more definite than by observations of superficial resemblances (Met. 1043).

D. D. HEATH.

THE GEOMETRICAL PROBLEM OF THE *MENO* (p. 86 E—87 A).

I VENTURE to add one more to the attempted solutions of this famous passage. The geometrical problem is here introduced in order to illustrate the nature of hypothetical reasoning. The question under discussion is, Is Virtue Knowledge? The form in which Socrates presently proceeds to argue the question is this:

If Virtue is Knowledge it is teachable.
If Virtue is not Knowledge it is not teachable.

Starting from these premisses he constructs two hypothetical syllogisms, in which the second premiss of each contradicts the conclusion of the other. Thus:

A. If Virtue is Knowledge it is teachable.
But Virtue is Knowledge,
therefore V. is teachable.

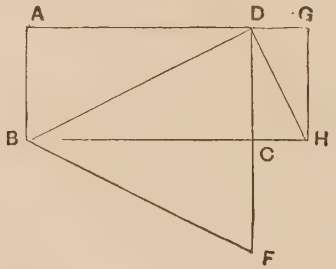
B. If Virtue is Knowledge it is teachable.
But V. is not teachable,
therefore V. is not Knowledge.

The problem comes in simply as illustrative of this line of argument. The question which is supposed to be propounded is, *Whether a given area can be inscribed trianglewise in a given circle* (εἰ οἷόν τε ἐς τόνδε τὸν κύκλον τόδε τὸ χωρίον τρίγωνον ἐνταθῆναι).

I take it that by the χωρίον here he means a *rectangular* χωρίον, although in the preceding chapters the χωρία spoken of were squares (see below).

Socrates proceeds:—'If the χωρίον be such that when

you extend it along the given line of the circle,'—*i.e.* along the diameter[1]—(*παρὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ γραμμὴν παρατείναντα*), 'it is defective by another *χωρίον* similar to the original one' (*οἷον—ἐλλείπειν τοιούτῳ χωρίῳ οἷον ἂν αὐτὸ τὸ παρατεταμένον ᾖ*) then 'one result follows; if not there is another result;' in other words 'If when you apply the given rectangle *ABCD* to the diameter *BH* of the circle it falls short of the completed rectangle *ABHG* upon the diameter by a rectangle *DCHG* similar to the original rectangle, then a triangle *BDF* may be described in the circle whose diameter is *BH*, which triangle is equal in area to the original rectangle.'



Since the rectangles *ABCD* and *DCHG* are similar

$$BC : CD :: CD : CH,$$

the point *D* lies on the circle whose diameter is *BH*.

If *DC* is produced till $CF = DC$ the point *F* will also be on the circle.

Thus the △ *BDF* can be inscribed in the circle whose diameter is *BH*.

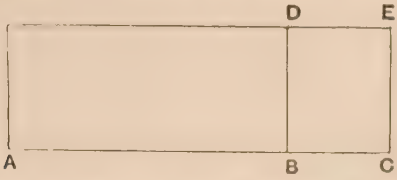
But this △ is = to the given rectangle *ABCD*.

A few notes will elucidate the passage.

(1) *ἐλλείπειν* bears a well-known technical meaning in geometry.

[1] It is to be observed that though Plato first assumes the circle as given (*τόνδε τὸν κύκλον*), yet in framing his tentative construction he starts not from the circle itself but from the diameter as a line of given length (*τὴν δοθεῖσαν γραμμήν*), the diameter being regarded as a datum in itself characteristic of the particular circle.

If the rectangle AD be applied to the line AC it is said ἐλλείπειν (to be defective) by the rectangle BE. Similarly if



the rectangle AE be applied to the line AB it is said ὑπερβάλλειν (to be excessive) by the rectangle BE. See note (2).

(2) παρατείνειν παρὰ *accus.* lit. 'extend (the χωρίον) along the given line,' hence 'apply (the χωρίον) to the given line.' So, apparently Plat. *Rep.* vii. 527 A. The technical word, at least in later Greek, for applying a figure to a line is παραβάλλειν, but Plato in the *Meno* and elsewhere uses language partly technical, partly popular. (Thus above ἐγγράφειν not ἐντείνειν is the technical word for *inscribing* a triangle in a circle.) Mathematical phraseology was not nearly so set as in Euclid's time.

With the whole phrase compare Euclid VI. 28 'to a given straight line to apply a parallelogram equal to a given rectilineal figure and having its defect similar to a given parallelogram' &c. (παρὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν εὐθείαν τῷ δοθέντι εὐθυγράμμῳ ἴσον παραλληλόγραμμον παραβαλεῖν, ἐλλεῖπον εἴδει παραλληλογράμμῳ ὁμοίῳ τῷ δοθέντι· κ.τ.λ.). With the exception of the word παραβαλεῖν instead of παρατεῖναι the correspondence here is very exact. The problem too is one concerning 'similar' figures, as I take it to be in the text: cf. Euclid VI. 27 and 29.

(3) χωρίον lit. 'area,' here of a 'rectangular area.' In the earlier part of the dialogue (p. 82 B—85 B) χωρίον has been used repeatedly for a square, but only after it had been first defined as τετράγωνον χωρίον ἴσας ἔχον τὰς γραμμὰς...πάσας (p. 82 C). Compare also p. 83 A where it is explained to be μὴ ταύτῃ μὲν μακρὸν τῇ δὲ βραχύ (*i.e.* not an ordinary rectangle) ἀλλὰ ἴσον πανταχῇ...ὥσπερ τουτί (but with all its sides equal). The word χωρίον, therefore, in a context such as that of the *Meno*, might naturally and without further qualification

convey the idea of a rectangular area. The technical ἐλλείπειν here suggests a reference to a parallelogram, and in geometrical problems dealing with parallelograms the right angle was constantly assumed. A striking corroboration is afforded by the constant use of χωρίον in Pappus of Alexandria to signify a rectangle. See Hultsch's Pappus Index p. 124 χωρίον 'maxime spatium rectangulum, quod binis rectis contineri dicitur; τὸ ὑπὸ ΓΒ ΒΚ περιεχόμενον χωρίον iv. 214. 15 &c.,' 'passim χωρίον per se rectangulum significat.' Numerous instances are there cited. A single passage (Papp. B. VII. 30) may be quoted as illustrating not only this use of χωρίον itself but also the other technical phraseology of our passage; χωρίον γάρ τι παρά τινα γραμμὴν παραβαλλόμενον ἐν μὲν τῇ ὀξυγωνίου κώνου τομῇ, ἐλλεῖπον γίνεται τετραγώνῳ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀμβλυγωνίου ὑπέρβαλλον τετραγώνῳ κ.τ.λ. ('a rectangle applied to a given right line in the section of an acute-angled cone is defective by' &c.).

(4) τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ γραμμήν. Here αὐτοῦ might at first sight be supposed to refer to χωρίον not to κύκλος. But the sense requires the reference to κύκλος; otherwise there is no mention of the circle in this clause which defines the relations that must exist between the circle and the χωρίον. The reference of αὐτοῦ to κύκλος is less harsh if we bear in mind that the cases of αὐτὸς are capable of a vague use which no English pronoun can bear. The γραμμὴ of the circle will denote its diameter in precisely a similar way as the side of a square is repeatedly called the γραμμὴ of the square (*e.g. Meno* p. 82 E &c.), the idea being that the square is developed out of the line (cf. ἀπὸ τῆς διπλασίας γραμμῆς φὴς τὸ διπλάσιον χωρίον γίγνεσθαι; *Meno* p. 82 E).

(5) The grammatical difficulty in the accusat. παρατείναντα is insuperable. If correct, it is a very harsh anacolouthon: 'when you have applied...it is deficient.' The simplest correction would be to the dative[1].

[1] It is hardly possible that παρατείναντα ἐλλείπειν should mean 'after applying the rectangle you should find yourself deficient by &c.' as the technical term ἐλλείπειν appears to have been invariably used of the area not of the person.

(6) τοιοῦτον—οἷον I take to denote 'similar' in the strict geometric sense. Euclid would say ὅμοιον.

The solution here proposed has one defect, but not, it would seem, a fatal one. If the condition as above interpreted holds good the given χωρίον can be inscribed as a triangle in the circle. But the converse proposition is not true. The χωρίον can still be inscribed, as required, even if the condition laid down is not fulfilled; the true and necessary condition being that the given area is not greater than that of the equilateral triangle, *i.e.* the *maximum* triangle, which can be inscribed in the given circle. The geometrical hypothesis would no doubt be more satisfactory as a sample of logical method, if the converse proposition also were true[1]. Yet as interpreted above it is sufficient for Socrates' purpose. In order to show what he means by hypothetical treatment he takes a geometrical problem which has two cases; (1) if the rectangle is such that &c. it can be inscribed, (2) if the rectangle is not such that &c. it may or may not be inscribed. A closer correspondence with the hypothetical statements (1) If Virtue is Knowledge it can be taught; (2) If Virtue is not Knowledge it cannot be taught, would make the illustration neater. But, as it is, the geometrical hypothesis indicates roughly the hypothetical mode of reasoning which is to be pursued.

It is worth observing that the above solution depends on *CD* being a mean proportional between the segments of the diameter, and that mean proportionals were among the subjects of chief interest in mathematics in Plato's time[2].

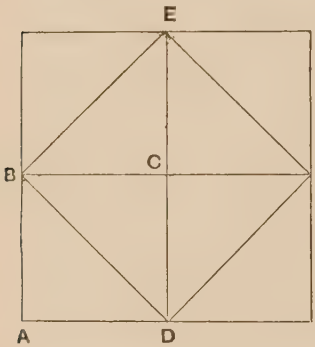
S. H. BUTCHER.

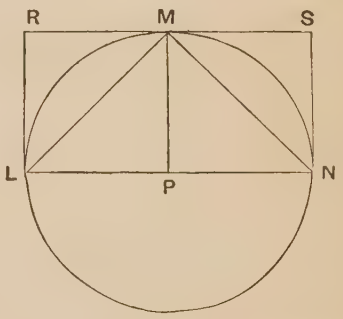
[1] Professor Henry Sidgwick and Dr A. W. Verrall independently suggest to me that we may account for the flaw in the geometrical hypothesis by supposing that Plato has in his mind the isosceles triangle of our figure as being the only one that is *obviously and at once equal to the given rectangle*, for it is made by rearranging and putting together the two halves of the rectangle diagonally divided. Nor perhaps, we may add, is it fanciful to suppose that the word ἐντείνειν (ἐνταθῆναι) instead of the usual ἐγγράφειν is specially applicable to this particular figure. To 'stretch' or 'fit in' a rectangle in triangular form would not unnaturally mean to rearrange the actual rectangle in the manner shown in the figure.

[2] I owe to the kindness of Dr James Gow the following statement of my solution, which is perhaps the best form in which it can be put.

AB is the diameter of the circle

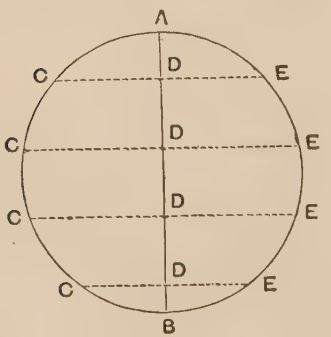
P.S. Since writing the above I have referred to Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*, p. 186—7. He accepts the solution put forward, it would seem, by Benecke, *Ueber die geometrische Hypothesis in Platons Menon*, Elbing, 1867, with which I was not previously acquainted. This solution agrees with mine in the meaning it attaches to ἐλλείπειν, παρατείνειν, and τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ γραμμήν. The difference arises from Benecke's view that the reference is to the figure already drawn (*Meno*, p. 82 C—85 B). According to this interpretation it will be observed that (1) τόδε τὸ χωρίον is the





original square *ABCD*, the square on the line of two feet; (2) τοιοῦτον οἷον denotes *equality* not *similarity*.

ABC. Since *ACB* is a semicircle, then a perpendicular *CD* drawn from *any*



point of the circumference to the diameter, is a mean proportional between the segments of the diameter, and there are *no other* such mean proportionals except such perpendiculars. (Eucl. VI. 8.) That is to say, the rectangle *AD*, *DC*, applied to *AB*, is always deficient by a similar rectangle *CD*, *DB*.

Any rectangle *AD*, *DC* is always equal to an isosceles triangle *ACE* inscribed in the circle.

Hence any χωρίον which is equal to any rectangle *AD*, *DC* (cf. Eucl. I. 45) can always be inscribed in the circle as an isosceles triangle, and no other can, for we can make an isosceles triangle as small as we please, and the greatest triangle (equilateral) which can be inscribed in a circle is still isosceles and equal to *AD*, *DC*.

The problem then will be: 'Can this *χωρίον* (*i.e.* the square *ABCD*) be inscribed in triangular form in this circle *LMN*?'

The geometrician would reply: 'If the *χωρίον* or square is such that when applied to the diameter *LN*, it is deficient by another *χωρίον* or square equal to itself, then the *χωρίον* can be inscribed as a triangle in the given circle.'

Here, the triangle *LMN* = square *LRMP*,
= square *ABCD*,

and the angle *LMN* is a right angle.

Hence the given *χωρίον*, which is the square on a line of two feet, can be inscribed as an isosceles triangle in the given circle.

The geometrician's reply is thus equivalent to saying, 'The square on the line of two feet can be inscribed as a triangle in the given circle provided that the side of the square is equal to the radius of the circle.'

This is obviously true, but the converse proposition would be even more obviously false than in my solution. Had the problem been to find out 'whether the square on a line of two feet could be inscribed in a given circle in *the form of an isosceles right-angled triangle*,' the condition as here stated would be correct. So far the two solutions labour (in different degrees) under a precisely similar defect. But there is a further objection against Benecke's view. He explains *τόδε τὸ χωρίον* by reference to a particular diagram already drawn. In that case *τόνδε τὸν κύκλον* would also naturally refer to a circle previously described. But no such circle has as yet been described.

S. H. B.

CATULLIANA.

THE last few years have been very fruitful in important contributions to the study of Catullus; and in the following paper, which deals amongst others with some of the most difficult passages of Catullus, I shall address myself in the first instance to the consideration of these. Foremost among them are the commentary of Riese, the fuller one of Baehrens (1885), which marks in many respects a great advance upon his edition of the text in 1876, and the invaluable critical edition by Schwabe (1886) which contains in addition to fresh and trustworthy collations of the important manuscripts a most useful collection of *testimonia* and a full *index uerborum*[1].

I have made one exception to this rule which English scholars will perhaps excuse. I have generally referred to Munro's views as published in his *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus* (1878), a book now unfortunately out of print. It will be found here, as everywhere, that he has seen much which has escaped the sight of others, and that his views, even if not convincing, are always instructive. I have quoted the MSS. from Schwabe's edition, and I have used his abbreviation ω for readings differing from those of V, the archetype of O and G, which are found in MSS. of the 14th and 15th centuries or printed editions up to 1550.

I. 8 quare habe tibi quidquid hoc libelli
qualecumque; quod, o patrona virgo,
10 plus uno maneat perenne saeclo.

8 tibi habe *V*. h', *hoc est* haec, *O*. libelli *V*, *supra scripto in G* al' mei, *unde Baehrens* mel *coniecit*. 9 o *om. V*.

[1] For the other contributions it is enough to refer to the review in Bursian's *Jahresbericht* for 1887 by Dr Magnus.

The last lines of this 'short and simple poem' have brought a sea of trouble on the commentators—upon each a fresh wave. Baehrens is overcome by the order of *habe tibi*, and requires the 'sollennis loquendi formula,' *tibi habe*, current from Plautus to Symmachus. It has not occurred to him that a dedication is no place for this formula, with its associations of divorce and legal conveyance; and, building on a corruption common in the manuscripts of Catullus (for the transposition of *habe tibi* see below, p. 263), he has produced 'quare, mel, tibi habe quidem hoc libelli. Qualecumque quod est, patrona uirgo'—a reconstruction which is as remarkable for the ingenuity of the architect as the ruin of the text. Baehrens' emendation is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the illustrations of other editors, who cite such passages as Plaut. *Men.* 690 'tibi habeto, aufer,' which continues 'utere, uel tu uel tua uxor; uel etiam in oculos compingito.' Even the dull biographer of eminent persons would have declined to have a book of poems thus stuffed down his throat.

The relation of *quicquid* and *qualecumque* has proved another difficulty. Without doubt, as Munro (*Criticisms* p. 1) and Baehrens observe, a connecting *et* would be required in prose; but the omission of the particle is in a piece with the omission of the *est*, both, to use Cicero's words, showing the 'non ingratam neglegentiam de re hominis magis quam de uerbis laborantis[1].' The structure is that of 61. 113 (117) 'quae tuo ueniunt ero, quanta gaudia!' Certainly: "Be yours, Cornelius, this book of mine, whatever itself, whatever its kind," is both simple and short.

That the reference to Nepos stops at *qualecumque*, and that, in consequence, *patrona uirgo* is sound and the emendations of Bergk, *patronei ut ergo*, of Hand and others must be put aside, I am convinced, in spite of the decision of the latest editor, B. Schmidt, for the contrary opinion. To wish that his poems should live for or through the person to whom they are dedicated, is adulation foreign to the character of Catullus, as Baehrens too has seen, to whom even the preceding verse shows excessive self-depreciation. Munro's parallels (pp. 4, 5) refer to a different

[1] For the omission of the *est* comp. below on 10. 24. Some of the 'Itali' inserted *est* and others *et* after *libelli*; they may be paired against each other.

matter. The function of the *patronus* or *uindex* is to give the book committed to his charge a first start in life,—'per quem perire non licet meis nugis,' Mart. 1. 113. 6,—to secure it readers and publicity. Even a Martial, when addressing a Domitian, does not say that he hopes that his books may last through the ages *because* they have been dedicated to the emperor; but only that this has given them life and publicity, and that this will find them readers. "libelli mei...quibus tu *famam*, id est *uitam* dedisti, tibi supplicant et puto propter hoc *legentur*."

II. 5 cum desiderio meo nitenti
carum nescio quid lubet iocari
et solaciolum sui doloris,
credo ut cum grauis acquiescet ardor.

8 et (tum), *Schöll.* acquiescat ω.

Munro (*Journ. Phil.* 4. 242) has the credit of first distinguishing between *dolor* 'the grief and aching void which the heart feels in the absence of a loved object,' and *grauis ardor* 'the furious storm of passion which could not last long without destroying its possessor'; but his emendation, which changes *et* to *sit* and transposes lines 7, 8, is not satisfactory, if only for the fact that a completed tense, *acquierit*, 'when the storm has subsided,' would be required. The suggestions of others are still less attractive. In 'Catulliana' (*Mnemosyne* XIV. 433) I proposed *credit* for *credo ut*; but I think I can improve upon that now. The lines express Catullus' hope that he might find ease, as his mistress finds it, from playing with a bird. The relief, like the pain, must be twofold, a solace for the aching of absence and an assuaging of the fierce storm of passion; and Catullus has coupled these two by an *et*. I would therefore read

et solaciolum sui doloris
credo ET QVO magis acquiescAt ardor.

et (for the corruption of which to *ut* see 17. 15) and *acquiescat* have already become current. *quo* (abl. neut.) is an easy correction for *quom* (cum). Compare 66. 23, 'quam' Bentley, MSS. cum, 64. 205 'quo motu' (MSS. quō tū). For the con-

struction, in apposition to the idea contained in *iocari*, see Kühner *Lat. Gr.* II. 185 sqq.

In the last line of the poem Leutsch is probably right in writing *sic, ut ipsa*, and Baehrens in changing *possem* to *possim*.

v. 10 dein cum milia multa fecerimus,
conturbabimus illa, ne sciamus,
aut ne quis malus inuidere possit,
cum tantum sciat esse basiorum.

I have quoted this passage in full to show how groundless is the alteration of *sciat* to *sciet* by Buecheler (followed by L. Mueller and B. Schmidt), on the strength of the parody in *Priap.* 52. 12. Imitations are not quotations; and even quotations cannot be trusted, as we shall see below. *Sciat* is as right here as *sciet* is there, its mood being determined by the adjacent subjunctives.

x. 24 hic illa, ut decuit cinaediorem,
'quaeso,' inquit, 'mihi, mi Catulle, paulum
istos commoda, nam uolo ad Sarapim
deferri.'

26 istos commodum (*Haud, alii* commodo *siue* commode) enim uolo ad Sarapin deferri *edd.* commoda, enim uolo etc. *Burmann.*

It is generally agreed that *commodă* cannot stand, and no one is likely now to accept Burmann's *commoda enim* for a line in Catullus. Palaeographically, any of the three substitutes will do, *a*, *o* and *e* being often confused, and the nearness of *a* and *ā* being attested by corruptions like *secūt* O, *secum* G (for *secat*) 71. 2 (see also Schwabe's ed. 1866, p. xxiiii, and below); and exegetically they are equally unsatisfactory. *Commodum* cannot be equated to *hoc ipso tempore*, as Baehrens wishes[1], nor can it go with every verb. 'Lend me your men; for I am just wishing to ride to Serapis's' is not a natural expression. The wish being already given by the imperative, the natural expression is: 'Lend me the men. I was just about driving to Serapis's,' or

[1] What Baehrens means by his added explanation 'quo (tempore) scil. aegrota femella pedibus nequiit ambulare,' I cannot comprehend. The 'femella' did not surely mean: 'I want to drive, *just at the time that I cannot walk.*'

the like. This is shown, e.g., by Plaut. *Stich.* II. 2. 40 'post quam me misisti ad portum cum luci semul, Commodum radiosus, ecce, sol superabat e mari,' *Merc.* I. 2. 106, Ter. *Phorm.* IV. 3. 9. We need but the slightest of changes, or rather no change at all. Put a stop after *enim*, call *commodum* adjective for adverb, and all awkwardness will disappear.

'quaeso,' inquit, 'mihi, mi Catulle, paulum
istos: commodum enim: uolo ad Sarapim' etc.

'Lend me your bearers,' cries the minx, 'nothing can be more convenient. I want to drive to Serapis's.' The omission of the *est* and the short sentences show the eagerness of the woman.

id. 32 utor tam bene quam mihi pararim.

Statius long ago discovered the truth here in his *paratis*; but he failed to interpret it. It is not masculine (sc. seruis), but neuter, 'things I have bought for my own use.' It is odd that Baehrens should propose *parato* (sc. *isto*, *v.* 28), which would produce the very ambiguity that is avoided by the plural.

XXII. 4 puto esse ego illi milia aut decem aut plura
perscripta, nec sic, ut fit, in palimpsestos
relata; chartae regiae, noui libri,
noui umbilici lora rubra membrana,
derecta plumbo et pumice omnia aequata.

5 palimpsestos *Baehrens*, palmisepto *V*. 6 carte regie noui libri *V*. 7 membrane *V*.

This locus classicus for the ancient book has been so often discussed that I shall not do more than touch on the main points with all possible brevity. The first point is the construction of the passage, with its string of clauses unconnected by conjunctions, and each consisting of an adjective and noun in agreement. Attention to this will show on the one hand that *noui* (not *nouae* Riese) is right in *v.* 6, and that in *v.* 7 *membrana* (or *membranae* plur.) requires an epithet[1]; and on the

[1] In Mart. I. 66. 11, quoted by Munro, 'nec umbilicis cultus atque membrana,' *both* nouns are without epithets—quite another thing.

other, that conjectures like Birt's *coria rubra membranae*, and Baehrens' *lana r. m.*, cannot stand, even if otherwise satisfactory.

In the second place, the futility of ruling lines on a cover (*membrana*) shows that its epithet is not to be sought in the *derecta plumbo*, which Munro rightly connects with the following *omnia*. Since, then, *membranae* cannot be provided for either as gen. or as nom., we must change it with almost all the editions since Avantius to *membrana*, and join it, after Riese, with *rubra*. Suffenus dyed his roll covers red: others preferred yellow (Ps. Tib. 3. 1. 9) or purple (Ov. *Tr.* 1. 1. 5 etc.). *lora* claims us next. It may mean the *index* or *titulus* of the roll, as Marquardt thinks, or the fastenings of it, as I prefer to take it with Ellis. Whatever the *lora* were, Suffenus would take good care to have them *new*, like the *libri* and like the *umbilici*. I think then that *v.* 7 should be read

noui umbilici < ET > lora, rubra membrana.

Nothing falls out so easily as *et*, especially if its *t* be absorbed in an *l*.

In *v.* 8 *pumice omnia aequata* must certainly refer to the smoothing of the rough edges of the roll which formed the 'frontes'; but there is no difficulty in this. *omnia* does not "include all the objects mentioned in 6 and 7," but sums up the general effect: everything is properly finished off, both inside the book (*derecta plumbo*), and outside it (*pumice aequata*).

XXIX. 17 paterna prima lancinata sunt bona,
secunda praeda Pontica, inde tertia
Hibera quam scit amnis aurifer Tagus,
20 huicne Galliae ultima et Britanniae?
quid hunc malum fouetis? aut quid hic potest
nisi uncta deuorare patrimonia?
eone nomine urbis opulentissime
socer generque perdidistis omnia.

20 hunc Gallie timet et britannie *V*. quid hunc (malum) fouetis? *ω*, hoc malum *ω*, *Vossius*. 24 Gener socerque *Verg. Catal.* 3. 6.

I give *v.* 20 as I have emended it in *Mnemosyne* l.c.; the numerous other proposals may be seen in Schwabe and Ellis.

The great majority are out of court for violating the metre, which is pure iambic, and several of those left, for catching at the *timet* of the corrupting scribe. Gaul and Britain do not *fear* Mamurra; nor, again, does Catullus *fear* that they will be spoiled. He is *indignant* that they are being spoiled. There remain Baehrens' *eeine Galliae optima et Britanniae*, and Munro's *et huice Galliae et metet Britannia* which I set down for the sake of comparison.

Dissatisfaction, which I confess I share, has long been felt with *hunc malum*. The addition of the adjective weakens the pronoun, and *malus* imports activity in wrong doing (see the examples cited by Baehrens) which does not accord with the contemptuous tone of Catullus. If the exclamation *malum* is thought to be wanting in dignity (although Munro op. cit. p. 111 well combats this view), we might read *hoc malum* (as I now see has been already proposed) = *hanc pestem* or perhaps even *hanc luem*. *fouetis* will go well with either word.

For *opulentissime* in *v.* 23 I formerly proposed *o putamina*; but I now acquiesce in Haupt's *o piissimi* (*-ei*) which, as others have pointed out, was corrupted by being written *o pientissimi*. *urbis* however I should retain, and place the comma before it. . The sting of *piissimi*, which suggests at once their true 'impiety' to their mother Rome and their false 'piety' towards each other, is lost if *urbis* be changed to *orbis*, or *piissimi* taken with the following line. In the last line I retain the order of all the MSS. Baehrens, in pressing the undoubted fact (see his note) that the line became proverbial in the other order, has only forged an argument against himself. *socer generque* would have been corrupted to *gener socerque*, not vice versa. The reason for Catullus' order is clear. Caesar is the prominent figure and therefore comes first, just as he does in Virg. *Aen.* 6. 830 'aggeribus *socer* Alpinis atque arce Monoeci Descendens, *gener* aduersis instructus Eois,' where Pompey is represented as waiting his attack. The reason for the order of the proverb is also clear. *socĕr gĕnĕrquĕ pĕrdidistis omnia* contains five short *e's* in succession—a long drag on the articulation which the *os populi* quickly discovered, and removed, by breaking them into groups of two and three. No one will think this fanciful who

considers how often popular lines and expressions are misquoted simply through the influence of the sound, or who will try, for example, to pronounce 'heels over head' fifty times in succession in place of the common, but unmeaning, 'head over heels.'

XXXI. 12 Salue, o venusta Sirmio, atque ero gaude:
gaudete uos quoque lidie lacus undae.

13 *ita V.* uosque o *Itali.* Lydiae *Scal.* Libuae *Lach.* limpidae *Auant.* uiuidae *Munro.*

The learning of Lydian or Libuan allusions is out of place in this simple poem of 'home again.' *limpidae* of the clear water, *uiuidae* of the rippling water, are both good words. Still let us try to find something which will have the merits of both, and also perfectly explain the MS. corruptions. *uosquoquelidie* is for *uosqueoliquide* i.e. *uosque, o liquidae.* liquidus 'clear flowing' is short in the three other places where it occurs in Catullus, but it is both long and short in Lucretius, and that even in the same line, IV. 1259 'crassane conueniant līquidis et līquida crassis,' and it is long as late as Phaedrus (Munro on Lucr. II. 452).

XXXVI. 3 nam sanctae Veneri Cupidinique
uouit, si sibi restitutus essem
5 desissemque truces uibrare iambos,
electissima pessimi poetae
scripta tardipedi deo daturam
infelicibus ustulanda lignis;
et hoc pessima se puella uidit
10 iocose lepide uouere diuis.

9 hoc *V*, haec *ω*. 10 iocosis *Riese*, ioco se lepido *Scaliger*. uouere se diuis *V*.

Can it be an infection that has made all recent editors keep the *hoc* of V in 9 and translate *pessima puella* 'the naughty girl' or 'das Teufelsmaedchen'? If Catullus thus shifted the meaning of *pessimus* within three lines, he deserved the title of 'pessimus omnium poeta' that he ironically applies to himself in addressing Cicero. Unintentional repetitions of the same word in a different sense are, it is true, not avoided by

Catullus (as *tenent—tenes* 55. 17, 18), if the words are not emphatic nor their meanings inconsistent. Mr Housman has suggested to me that *uos*, addressing the Annals of Volusius, as in the first line, should be read; but the earlier correction seems simpler. The sense is clear. She promised the worst poems, and *these* are the worst.

Of *v.* 10 Riese rightly says that it 'steht asyndetisch hart' and is not justified by 64. 57 or 46. 11. The harshness consists in the fact that *iocose* and *lepide* are not each a separate qualifier of *uouere*, but really form a single expression, equivalent to *lepide iocans* or the like. Riese plausibly suggests *iocosis*, referring to Venus and Cupid. He cites Hor. *Od.* 1. 2. 33 'Erycina ridens quam Iocus circum uolat et Cupido'; to which might be added *id.* 1. 33. 10 'Veneri, cui placet inpares formas atque animos sub iuga aenea Saeuo mittere cum ioco.' If he is right, we should write the word *iocoseis*, a form for which see below, p. 267. Its *disiecta membra* will then be seen in *iocose* and the *se* which precedes *diuis*.

I confess however that this does not quite satisfy me, and I prefer to try a different path: to adopt Scaliger's *ioco se lepido* and to change the *se* in 9, which he vainly defends, to. SIC[1]. The MS. division of words in Catullus is absolutely without importance; see the lists of corruptions like *potest olidum* for *pote stolidum*, in Schwabe ed. 1, 1866 or Munro pp. 101, 104. So that *ioco se* is no change, while *lepido* is one of the easiest. When *se* had disappeared in *iocose*, it was added again in the margin, from which it crept into the wrong place in 10 while it ousted *sic* in 9. *sic*, of course, goes with *uouere*. 'She saw that it was these compositions that she was thus in pleasant jest devoting to the gods.'

XXXVIII. 1 Malest, Cornifici, tuo Catullo,
malest me hercule et laboriose
et magis magis in dies et horas.

2 et *V.*, et est *Sillig*, et, a *Baehrens*.

Of the supplements of this verse that of Baehrens is the best. The exclamation is appropriate and the palaeographical

[1] Catullus perhaps wrote *seic*.

change is easy. It postulates, however, an intermediate step *ei* (*hei*), cf. basia 7, 9, basiei *V*; and this we can dispense with by reading

malest me hercule et, <EI>, laboriose.

In 3 Birt has proposed to substitute *ei* for *et*; but *et* is rightly retained by Baehrens and other editors; cf. below on 73. 4.

XXXIX. 10 Si urbanus esses aut Sabinus aut Tiburs
aut parcus Vmber aut obesus Etruscus.

11 ita *V*. *glossa Vaticana in Mai Class. auct.* 7, 574 *habet* Pinguis grassus, nam obesus plus est quam pinguis. Catullus ait 'Aut pinguis ubera aut obesus et prossus.'

To say nothing of the gloss, *parcus* cannot stand. What a jest is the 'thrifty Umbrian' with the Sabine in the preceding line! The Vatican gloss, miserably corrupt as it is, gives the right sense for Catullus; but to restore *pinguis* from it is contrary to all sound critical principles. *pinguis* is the marginal explanation on the true reading of which *parcus* is the corruption. It hardly needed a Scaliger to divine that this was *porcus*. Yet all the editors have rejected it! They cannot have seen that Catullus was levelling a gibe at a neighbouring people. The Umbrian wild boars were famous. The corresponding tame animals were the fat Umbrians themselves, 'pinguibus Vmbris' Pers. *S.* 3. 74, cited by Ellis. Ellis and Riese think *porcus* 'too coarse' to be likely. Too coarse for Catullus!

Perhaps I have expressed surprise too strongly about the neglect of Scaliger's *porcus*, when scholars like Vahlen, Schwabe, and, latest of all, B. Schmidt, still reject Fröhlich's most brilliant and certain emendation *aes imaginosum* in XLI. 8, and this after all the illustration of the phrase by Ellis, Baehrens, and Palmer. The latter's excellent parallel from Gellius has apparently been overlooked; so I repeat it here. *Noct. Att.* 16. 18. 3 'Ὀπτικὴ facit multa derivanda id genus ut in speculo uno imagines unius rei plures appareant, item ut speculum in loco, certum nihil *imaginet*, aliorsum translatum *faciat imagines*.' As to the interpretation, what makes *imagines*, is *imaginosum*, and Ellis's references to multiplying mirrors etc. are not in point. About the other readings, it is enough to remark that the idea of

'imagination' in the derivatives of 'imago,' as 'imaginor,' 'imaginatio,' 'imaginabilis,' is post-Augustan; and that *imaginosus* 'fanciful' could no more have been used by Catullus than φανταστικός in the same sense by Plato.

I note in passing that in XLII. 13 *facit*, Halbertsma's conjecture for *facis*, is highly probable, and that Munro's conjecture *pote ut* for *potest* (*v.* 16), and his re-punctuation (*Criticisms* p. 119), are certainly right.

XLV. Acmen Septumius suos amores
tenens in gremio 'mea' inquit 'Acme,'
ni te perdite amo atque amare porro
omnes sum assidue paratus annos
quantum qui pote plurimum perire,
solus in Libya Indiaque tosta,
caesio ueniam obuius leoni.
hoc ut dixit, Amor sinistra ut ante
dextra sternuit approbatione.
at Acme leuiter caput reflectens
et dulcis pueri ebrios ocellos
illo purpureo ore sauiata,
'sic' inquit 'mea uita Septumille,
huic uni domino usque seruiamus
ut multo mihi maior acriorque
ignis mollibus ardet in medullis.'
hoc ut dixit, Amor sinistrauit ante
dextram sternuit approbationem.
nunc ab auspicio bono profecti
mutuis animis amant, amantur.

1 septimios *O*, septimos *G*. 13 septinulle *V et in u.* 23 septimio, *idem in u.* 21 septimius. 8 *ita V.* sinistra et ante (=ἔμπροσθε) *Baehrens*, sinister ante *Vossius*, sinister astans *coni. Munro.* 9 *ita V.* dextram—approbationem *Scaliger cum aliis*, dextra—approbationem *ceteri.* 17 sinistra ut ante *edd. omnes.* 18 dextram—approbationem *Scaliger cum aliis*, dextra—approbationem *ceteri.*

Before we introduce the characters of this poem, it is only courteous to make sure of their names. The editors, following the vagaries of the manuscripts, make Catullus spell his friend's name three times as Sept*i*mius and once as Sept*u*mius. Let him have either the *i* or, as I think (with Baehrens) Catullus

rather wrote, the *u*; but not both. Such a variation of a proper name in the same poem is as incredible as that of *Furei* and *Furi* in 23. 1, and *ib.* 34.

This lovely poem which, as Munro says, is perhaps 'the most charming picture in any language of a light and happy love' has hitherto been treated rather ill by scholars. They have cried out that couplets 8, 9 and 17, 18 have been corrupted from each other; and then they have carried this corruption further themselves. Certainly, if we had had *sinistra ut ante* in 8 and 17, corruption of one line from the other would have been probable; but the manuscripts have *sinistra* ut *ante* in 8 and *sinistra*uit *ante* in 17. And if we had found *dextra sternuit approbatione* or *dextram sternuit approbationem* both in 9 and 18, this corruption would have been placed beyond all reasonable doubt: but the manuscripts have *dextra sternuit approbatione* in 9 and *dextra*m *sternuit approbationem* in 18. So far then from the lines having been corrupted from each other, they still bear upon them the impress of an original diversity. If this is the case, we need have nothing more to say to the emendations of the commentators; but their explanations still require a word. The majority have seen in *sinistra* a literal 'left' and in *dextra* a metaphorical 'right': they have supposed that Catullus means that Love gave a 'right' gracious sneeze on the left! If this is not solemn trifling, I do not know what is. Put 'right' by the side of 'left', and if one is literal, then, in all serious composition, the other is literal too. Munro, who alone so far as I know has tried to help the reader to understand the picture, has avoided this rock; but he has split upon another. On p. 121 he says 'Love well pleased, standing on their left, sneezes at them approval towards the right (*as he must do, being as he is on their left*)[1]'. If he *must* sneeze that way, why is Catullus so careful to point it out? Must I also deal with Vossius' *sinister ante*, although no editor accepts it? It is enough then to say that, apart from its palaeographical improbability, the idea of Love having been previously unpropitious is entirely devoid of foundation in the poem[2].

[1] The italics are mine.

[2] Ellis is obviously not satisfied with the common readings. He says (on v. 9) 'The difficulty in Catullus'

Let us follow the excellent example of Munro and try to see with our eyes the scene which Catullus is depicting. Septumius is resting on a couch: no doubt in the usual position, leaning to the left and supporting himself on his left arm. Acme will be on his right; and his right arm will encircle her as she reclines upon his breast. Her face is turned from his; for she bends back her head to meet and kiss his eyes, *v.* 10. This is the scene; and, when the god of Love appears to bestow his sign of blessing, is it not natural—I had almost said, necessary—that he should direct it separately towards each? Will not the god be standing by the side of Septumius, when he utters his fervent protestation, and by Acme's when she makes her sweet reply?

And now to the not very difficult task of eliciting this meaning from our text. In *v.* 9 we shall take *approbationem* for the construction's sake, and we shall only require to shift the comma,

> hoc ut dixit, Amor sinistra, ut ante
> dextra, sternuit approbationem[1].

In 18 *sinistrauit ante* will readily yield *sinistram ut* to us, and the second sign will be

> hoc ut dixit Amor, sinistram ut ante,
> dextram sternuit approbationem.

As no doubt it will be a shock to many, to have to read the lines in what they will feel an artificial, because an unaccustomed order, I wish to draw attention to certain points. First the order is that of chiasmus. After Septumius' speech Love's positions are given in the order: Present, Former: after Acme's speech in the order: Former, Present. This order, of which Latin is so fond, is found with clauses as well as words. Two good examples are

poem is the suggestion which the circumstantiality of the words *sinistra —approbationem* and the apparent allusion to some actual sign in *Nunc ab auspicio bono profecti* convey that something external happened which might be described as Love's sneezing; but this is contravened by the repetition of the same words after the protestation of each of the lovers.'

[1] I see that this punctuation is quoted as from ω in Schwabe ed. 1; it is not mentioned in ed. 2.

Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 49, 50 'crudelis mater magis an puer improbus ille? improbus ille puer, crudelis tu quoque mater'; Mart. II. 2. 1 'Creta dedit magnum, maius dedit Africa nomen, Scipio quod uictor quodque Metellus habet': compare VI. 13. 7. And so in Catullus e.g. 62. 21 (where my correction at once restores the chiasmus and the construction) 'qui natam possis complexu auellere matris, Complexum matris retinentem auellere natam.' But why quote single passages when Catullus has a whole poem constructed on this principle? See 68[b] and Riese's note, p. 225. Secondly, a certain subtle difference in the construction of the two sentences must be noted. We begin with the straightforward arrangement of words: *sinistra, ut ante dextra;* but when we come to 18, we are warned by the Acc. *sinistram* not to expect an exact repetition of the couplet; and at the same time we have a grammatical support to cling to, which the Ablative would not furnish. Lastly, we must note that *sinistram approbationem* for 'applause on the left' is a phrase, which would have been harsh in itself, but is quite natural and easy when it follows *sinistra sternuit approbationem.* The place of the person sneezing does not seem to have been important if we are to judge from the passages which Ellis and Baehrens have collected: but the number of sneezes seems to have been so. The learned Augustinus Niphus *de Auguriis* lib. I. c. viii. after pointing out that 'sternutamentum sanctum et sacrum fuisse Homerus tradit', and referring also to Theocritus and Plutarch and the Gentiles generally, proceeds 'tradunt gentes plurimae cogitanti aliquid agere si *bis* aut *quater* sternutamenta contigerint, augurale esse in bonum finem rem agendam deduci—si quis uero *semel* aut *ter* sternutauerit, quae agere deliberauerunt ne prosequantur'. But this was not always the case, as may be seen by referring to his subsequent remarks[1].

[1] To get over the apparent breach of correspondence caused by *ut ante* in l. 8 (which is a difficulty whatever interpretation is adopted), my friend Dr Verrall (who accepts my general interpretation) has suggested that there were two pairs of sneezes. "Love will first sneeze from the right and then from the left at *v.* 8; and he will sneeze first from the left and then from the right in *v.* 17."

LV. 28 adde huc plumipedas uolatilesque
uentorumque simul require cursum:
30 quos iunctos, Cameri, mihi dicares,
defessus tamen omnibus medullis
et multis langoribus peresus
essem te mihi amice quaeritando.

These lines form part of a fragment which the MSS. place after LVIII. It clearly belongs in subject to LV.; but its relation to that poem no one has yet made out, or perhaps ever will. Possibly, it is merely Catullus' notes for a never completed poem. On *v.* 30 (19 a) Baehrens observes: 'num 'si' hic quidem omitti possit, perdubium est'; and with this I thoroughly agree. I know of no example of its being omitted, where the verb follows a relative and *si* is equivalent to 'etiam si.' An *ut* seems to have fallen out most probably before, but possibly after *mihi*:

quos iunctos, Cameri, < VT > mihi dicares,
defessus tamen etc.

The collocation *ut...tamen* is quite idiomatic, as Caes. *B. G.* 3. 9, Ov. *Pont.* 3. 4. 79.

LXI.

It seems to me beyond all reasonable doubt that Dawes, Ellis and Munro are right in retaining the MS. *io* at the beginning of each line of the refrain from 124 onwards and scanning it as a monosyllable. See the latter's convincing argumentation, *Criticisms* pp. 135—138.

One argument seems to have escaped his observation and that of all other critics so far as I know, namely that in the first part of the poem we have the *invocation* of the marriage-god and therefore *o* throughout, but in the second part the *marriage-cry* and therefore *io* throughout.

LXII. 32 PVELLAE. Hesperus e nobis, aequales, abstulit unam
* * *
namque tuo aduentu uigilat custodia semper.
nocte latent fures quos idem saepe reuertens,

35 Hespere, mutato comprendis nomine Eous.
Hymen o Hymenaee, Hymen ades o Hymenaee!
IVVENES. * *

*

at lubet innuptis ficto te carpere questu.
quid tum si carpunt tacita, a, quem mente requirunt?
Hymen o Hymenace, Hymen ades o Hymenace.

So I should arrange these lines. The editors give 33—35 to the *Iuuenes*, place the lost refrain printed in italics after 32 and mark no lacuna between 35 and 36. There are grave objections to this distribution.

The lines in question carry on the idea in *abstulit*, 32. When the evening star comes, the watch is always on the alert. For it brings night, and night conceals thieves, who are often caught in the morning. This is obviously not appropriate in the mouths of the Youths, to say nothing of the abrupt change of subject in the two following lines. After 35, three lines at least have fallen out, in which the Youths defended Hesperus from the charge of abetting *furta*. It may be urged against this suggestion that the Maidens would not mention such a redeeming feature in Hesperus' conduct as his catching the thieves, even though in another character. To this I reply that it is the distinction between the Morning and Evening stars that makes all the difference. Compare Callim. *Fr.* 52 *αὐτοὶ μὲν φιλέουσ' αὐτοὶ δέ τε πεφρίκασι, Ἑσπέριον φιλέουσιν ἀτὰρ στυγέουσιν Ἑῷον*, and this is what the Youths insinuate (though more delicately) that the Maidens do. Though they compare Hesperus the Evening so unfavourably with Hesperus the Morning Star, their language is but that of feigned complaint, behind which there is a silent desire.

In *v.* 35 Baehrens seems right in changing *comprendis* to *deprendis*, the missing *de* of which he finds in the MS. reading *eosdem* (T *eospem*) for *Eous*[1]; and in 38 in reading *a quem* (*quema* T, *quam* V).

[1] *de* and *com* seem to be confused in 65. 1: 'defectu' O, 'confectum' G.

id. 53 sqq. hanc nulli agricolae, nulli coluere iuuenci:
at si forte eademst ulmo coniuncta marita,
multi illam agricolae, multi coluere iuuenci.

53 multi acoluere *T*, nulli coluere *V*, *uulg.* 54 marita *T*, marito *V*. 55 acoluere *T*, accoluere *V*.

In these lines we have a real case of one similar verse being corrupted from another. Catullus wrote in 53,

nulli illam agricolae, nulli, A, coluere iuuenci.

T has carried the *a* on to the verb, while V has dropped it, perhaps owing to *nulli* being written *nullei* in the archetype. Compare Haupt's spelling *multei* in 55 and see note above on XXXVIII. 2. Then *a coluere* was copied into 55, where the exclamation is quite inappropriate; and turned by the corrector into *accoluere* V.

In 54 T's *marita* is correct; compare 'ulmum maritam' Quint. 8. 3. 8. Latin writers certainly did not confuse gender and sex as some of their modern exponents have done; otherwise, Varro could not have written R. R. 3. 12. 5 '*qui* lepus dicitur, quom praegnans sit, tamen concipere.'

id. 59 at tu ne pugna tali cum coniuge, uirgo,
non aequomst pugnare pater cui tradidit ipse,
ipse pater cum matre quibus parere necessest.

So the editors (Baehrens *nei pugna*) read in 59 for the *et tu nec pugna* of V and T. A better sense is got by transposition.

at NEC TV pugna, etc.

'Your parents have consented; do not you, on your part, hold out'.

LXIII.

The only conjecture I have to propose in the Attis is in line 63.

quod enim genus figuraest ego non quod habuerim?
ego mulier, ego adulescens, ego ephebus, ego puer,
ego guminasi fui flos, ego eram decus olei.

It has long been felt that, in point both of sense and construction, *mulier* is unsatisfactory. Hence Scaliger's *puber* and Riese's *iuuenis*. But in tracing his history, Attis starts from the last point in it, his manhood (cf. 6 and 69); and there is no doubt that the copyists have unsexed him too soon. *mulier* conceals ENIM VIR. The addition of *enim* is, I think, a great improvement though it is not absolutely necessary.

In the other places, all falling under one head, with which I shall deal, I have to defend the MS. reading. The editors have been remorseless in making Attis feel his condition, forgetting that, as a *semiuir*, he is entitled to an alternation of gender. Lachmann began by reading *excitam* for *excitum* in 42, *ipsa* in 45, *teneram* in 88 and, what perhaps should be accepted, *illa* in 89. Fröhlich even changed *miser* to *misera* in 51; but he has found few followers. Every one, however, allows Cybele to speak of Attis as *hunc* (78) and *qui* (80). But to be accepted, alterations of this kind must be necessary and consistently carried out. The principle on which the question should be decided is clear. Wherever Catullus wishes us to think of the second state of Attis, he uses the feminine; and in no other case. Thus it is used consistently from 6 to 36. But after sleep has brought him refreshment and a temporary oblivion of his present self, the masculine is resumed, *excitum* 42, *ipse* 45; as soon, however, as he has seen '*sine queis ubique foret*' 46, we have the feminine once more, *allocuta* 49, *furibunda* (so Baehrens) 54, *remota* 55, probably *algida* 70, and of course *ministra* and *famula* in 68. The one masculine in 51, *miser*, refers to his former state, while the *miser, a, miser* of 61 is addressed to the *animus* whose infatuation has been so fatal; compare 4 'uagus *animi*,' 38 'rapidus furor *animi*,' 57 'rabie fera carens dum breue tempus *animus* est,' cf. 18. During his brief revolt against Cybele's power he is masculine again, 78, 80, 88, 89; but after the sending of the lion, he sinks again into the *famula*, 90.

ib. 82 fac cuncta mugienti fremitu loca retonent.

I believe the 'Itali' showed sound judgment in restoring *face* in this line. The spondee is out of place in Cybele's rapid and urgent command. *Fac* arose from *face* before vowels,

while *face* was retained before consonants, until later *fac* supplanted it there also. Catullus' usage (cf. 36. 16 for *face*; 78, 79 of this poem for *fac*) shows the earlier discrimination. The palaeographical change is nothing, *e* and *c* being frequently confused in the MSS.

LXIV 7 diua quibus retinens in summis urbibus arces
ipsa leui fecit uolitantem flamine currum,
10 pinea coniungens inflexae texta carinae.
illa rudem cursu prima imbuit Amphitriten.
quae simul ac rostro uentosum proscidit aequor etc.

11 p^{l}imam(=primam) *G*, posteam (*compendiose scriptum*) *O*, proram *adscripto in margine*. Amphitritem *G*, amphitritẽ *O*. prima—Amphitriten *edd.*, proram—Amphitrite *Ellis*, *Baehrens*.

Since the publication of Baehrens' edition, and also since I wrote my note in *Mnemosyne* in this passage, the new collation of G and O by Professor v. Schwabe has shown that the reading of O here had not been accurately reported. Both O and G agree in *Amphitritem* or *-en*, although the line over the *e* in O is very faint. The reading of the text in O is *posteam*, written *p9eā*, with the use of a compendium for *post* which O elsewhere confuses with the compendium for *prae*, e.g. 64. 145, 153, 194 (Schwabe)[1]. The reading then which the text of O points to is *prae eam*; and that the first letters were *pr* is attested also by the marginal reading. Schwabe thinks that this is corrupted from *primam* through the scribe's misapprehending the compendium p^{1}; and accordingly he adopts *prima*, the reading of most editors. In my note in *Mnemosyne*, I pointed out that *prima* was not wanted with *imbuit*. As I have been flatly contradicted on this point by the writer of the review in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*[2], I shall take the liberty of asserting and maintaining this proposition in a different and stronger form. Not only is *prima not wanted* with *imbuit*,—see the only two other passages where it occurs in Catullus, 4. 17, 64. 397,

[1] In order to make certain, I asked my friend Professor Nettleship to examine the manuscript for me. His account confirms the above in every particular.

[2] H. Magnus in *Jahresbericht* for 1887, p. 272, "Aber ohne *prima* hat der Vers keinen Sinn."

also Ovid *Tr.* 3. 11. 52, Val. Fl. 1. 69, Mart. 8. 51. 17, Seneca *Troad.* 215 "inhospitali Telephus regno impotens...rudem cruore regio dextram imbuit" (a passage, as Munro says, imitated from this),—but its insertion *destroys the Latin and the sense*. The reference in *imbuere*, where it has the special sense of doing something to a person or thing *for the first time*, is not to the doer of the thing but to the *thing done*. And to say "that this was the first ship that *imbuit* Amphitrite with sailing" is as ludicrous as to say that "this was the first axe that cut off the head of Charles I." Where *primus* does occur with it, it is an epithet of the thing which is done or made for the first time, as in Propertius 5. 10. 5 'imbuis exemplum *primae* tu, Romule, palmae'; Silius It. 3. 64 'uirgineis iuuenem taedis *primo*que Hymenaeo Imbuerat coniunx'; compare Virg. *A.* 7. 542, 'promissi dea facta potens ubi sanguine bellum Imbuit et *primae commisit* funera *pugnae*.' If therefore we follow G, we must change its *primam* to *primo* and take it with *cursu*. This I think would do. But I am not altogether satisfied with it. Baehrens brings a very pertinent objection against the ordinary reading: "melius 'quae' referemus ad 'proram,' non ad 'carinae' (quod, si ad hanc refertur 'illa,' molestissime fit)," and, arguing in favour of *proram*, he well reminds us that "habet haec prora rostrum ferratum unde, ut aratrum terram (Ov. *Met.* VII. 119), 'ferro proscindere campum,' sic nauis pontum proscindit." And perhaps he is right in appealing to Prop. 3 (4). 22. 12–14 'Peliacaeque trabis totum iter ipse legas Qua *rudis* Argoa natat inter saxa columba In faciem *prorae* pinus adacta nouae" as evidence in favour of this reading. Rejecting Ellis' connexion of *illa* with *Amphitrite*, he thinks it means Minerva, who, according to Hyginus (*Fab.* 14), launched as well as built the ship. To this view, however, there are the following objections: (1) *rudem cursu* cannot mean 'inexperienced in sailing,' the gen. is required in this sense; 'Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis,' which B. quotes, is, of course, different. (2) Though 'imbuere proram *aequore*' is a perfectly good expression, 'imbuere proram *Amphitrite*' (abl.) is a most difficult and unusual one; for, as Ellis rightly says, Amphitrite has a 'personal idea.' Like Ellis and Baehrens, I cannot believe that *proram* is a mere figment.

The scribe of O was a very ignorant man and not at all likely to have invented it himself. Accordingly, I still adhere to my belief that Catullus wrote

illa rudem cursu prorA imbuit Amphitriten.

The use of *illa prora* = 'illius nauis (currus) prora' is a well-known idiom; Ellis quotes Prop. 5. 4. 14 ex illo fonte = 'the spring there': see also Kühner *Lat. Gr.* II. p. 44 and the Introduction to my select elegies of Propertius p. cvi. The general sense is the same as that which is endeavoured to be extracted out of *prima*; and I am convinced that it is the right sense. For here it is the ship whose movements are strange to Amphitrite (cf. *v.* 15), not vice versa. Of course another poet on a different occasion may turn the picture round.

id. 16, 17 illa atque alia uidere luce marinas
mortales oculis nudato corpore Nymphas.

16 *ita G.* alia *om. O.* illa atque haud alia *ω*, illac hautque alia *Schwabe*, illac (quaque alia?) *Munro*, illa si qua alia *Lachmann*, atque illic alma *L. Mueller.* uiderunt *edd.* atque illa uidere beata luce *Baehrens.*

This place will perhaps be never emended with certainty. Of the proposals quoted above Munro's seems the most probable; but *illac* would hardly be used by Catullus in poems of the higher style. On this ground I should prefer illA (quaque alia?). Query, is there any evidence for the collocation *hautque* which Schwabe proposes?

id. 105 nam uelut in summo quatientem bracchia Tauro
quercum aut conigeram sudanti cortice pinum
indomitus turbo contorquens flamine robur
eruit (illa procul radicitus exturbata
110 prona cadit lateque cū eius obuia frangens).

109 *ita O.* cum eius omnia frangens *G*, lateque ruineis obuia frangens *Schwabe* (frangit *Riese*), lateque et comminus o. fr. *ω*, *Ellis*, late quaecunque sibi o. fr. *Statius*, late quaecunque habet o. fr. *Baehrens.*

I have selected the most plausible of the conjectures recorded by Baehrens, Ellis and Schwabe. It is a thankless task to pull to pieces the work of eminent scholars in the restoration of so corrupt a passage, and I will despatch it as quickly as

I can. Against Schwabe's proposal there are two grounds, first the weakness of *lateque* (fatal, also, to other suggestions which I have not recorded), and secondly the use of *ruineis*. What falls (as may be seen from the exx. which Riese quotes) may be said *dare ruinas*, i.e. to bring down other things, or to break them by its own *ruina*; but the plural is only used of the *falling* thing if, like a wall or house, it breaks to pieces itself. Ellis' reading is condemned by the sense assigned to *comminus*. Of the other two conjectures, Statius' is nearer to the MSS. than Baehrens', but both give a weak line.

I am afraid that it will be thought the height of presumption to say that I hope to restore this passage, without adding a letter, and only making use of well-known corruptions in our MSS.; and yet this is what I hope to effect. The corruption is confined to the letters *quecūeius*. Of these *cūeiu* is for *cūcta*, that is *cuncta*; *c* and *e* being confused, as mina *ei* for minaeis 4. 6; *t* and *i* as in male *si* for male*st* 38. 2, *a* and *u* as in *cura* for *cara* 63. 58. We may still see the traces of *cuncta* in *omnia*, the reading of G; compare the corruption of *iure* to *uiro* in 71, below. There remains *que...s*. Here transposition has effectually disguised the original; but hardly more so than in 58. 5 'magna admiremini' for 'magnanimi Remi,' or 64. 55 'que sui tui se credit' for 'que uisit uise<re> credit.' Compare also 66. 70 'aut—restitue*m*' for 'aute*m*—restitu*it*.' Our letters come from *cuas*, which passed by common corruptions to *cues*, *ques*, *a* changing to *e* as uit*a* to uite 68. 155, *a*ffice to effice 66. 92, and *cue* to the familiar *que*[1]; *cuas* of course is only *casu*, and the line will now appear with what I think are the very words of Catullus,

prona cadit, late CASV CVNCTA obuia frangens.

It may be added that *casu* is the dative dependent on *obuia*, as is shown by the better sense thus obtained, 'all that is in the

[1] It is possible that the *s* was simply lost when *cua* became *que* and *eiu* was filled up as *eius*. The amount of change assumed may be better seen by writing the original and the corruption one under the other, only transposing the *s*:

casu cūcta
que cūeius.

way of its fall,' and also by the order, as the Ablative would naturally have followed *cadit*.

Frag. 12 (Schwabe, 14 Baehrens) may be referred to here. It consists of a quotation from Servius ad V. *Aen.* 7. 378 "'turbo.' Catullus hoc 'turben' dicit ut hoc carmen." Schwabe and Baehrens are agreed in thinking that *Catullus* here is a mistake for Tibullus, *turben* being the correct reading in Tib. 1. 5. 3 'ut per plana citus sola uerbere turben Quem' etc. But this cannot be the case as *turben* is masculine there, while Servius' words prove it neuter in Catullus. Spengel and others go so far as to read *indomitum turben* for *indomitus turbo* in 64. 107 above, but the authority of D (and Ricc. 606) *indomitum—turbo* is not enough to justify its restoration. The word probably occurred in a lost poem.

LXIV. 355 namque uelut densas praecerpens messor aristas
sole sub ardenti flauentia demetit arua,
Troiugenum infesto prosternet corpora ferro.

355 praecerpens *Statius*, praecernens *O*, praeterriens *G*, *sed a correctore in* praecernens *mutatum*, praeceidens *Baehrens*, praesternens *Scaliger*, prosternens *ω*. messor *O*. cultor *G*.

In this passage the conjecture of Statius has been generally accepted; but the sense assigned to it, that of 'cutting in front of oneself' (*προταμεῖν ἄρουραν* Apoll. Rhod. 3. 1386), is one that it cannot bear. With *aristas*, it must mean 'to pluck before the time,' cf. Ov. *Ep.* 20. 14. 5 'quis tibi permisit nostras praecerpere messes'—and other passages quoted by Baehrens. Baehrens' own *praeceidens* (*praecaedens*) 'cutting off short' is not more probable. Editors have failed to read the MS. evidence aright. Both O and G are equally but differently corrupt. O has the change of *t* to *c* which is very common in our MSS., as 63. 32 actis for Attis, 76. 21 corpore for torpor (compare Schwabe ed. 1 p. xxiv, and Munro *Criticisms*). The original reading of G, on the other hand, shows *r* or *ri* for *n*, as 31. 5 crederis G (for credens), 64. 165 extenuate G (for externate), 44. 8 uertur (for uenter), 61. 187 berue (for bene). Both manuscripts then concur in attesting an original *praeternens*.

The slightest alteration of this is Scaliger's *praesternens*,

which, however, generally means 'to *scatter* in front.' If this slight divergence in meaning is felt to be a difficulty, then, as *pro* and *prae* are frequently confused in MSS. (e.g. 47. 4 proposuit for praeposuit), *prosternens* is a very easy change.

LXVI. 15 estne nouis nuptis odio Venus? anne parentum
frustrantur falsis gaudia lacrimulis,
ubertim thalami quas intra limina fundunt?

15 atque *V.* an quod auentum *Munro.* anne parumper *Baehrens.*

parentum is corrupt, as Munro and Baehrens have seen. How can the parents' rejoicings be affected by the tears shed *intra limina thalami*? I wonder that it should be left to me to suggest MARITVM.

id. 59 hi dii uen ibi uario ne solum in limine caeli
ex Ariadneis aurea temporibus
fixa corona foret, sed nos quoque fulgeremus
deuotae flaui uerticis exuuiae,
uuidulam a fletu cedentem ad templa deum me
sidus in antiquis diua nouom posuit.

Line 59 will perhaps never be emended with certainty. Still, as our MSS. add or remove *h* without scruple, e.g. 'simul *h*anc' (for 'ac') 64. 366, *h*is (for is) 68[b]. 107 and, as already said, they divide words anywhere, I think that *hi dii* may represent *īde*, that is *inde*, and *uen ibi* may be the mangled remains of *Venus*.

INDE VENVS, uario ne solum in limine caeli, etc.

inde would mean when she had received the lock from her 'famulus' (lines 56. 57), and *diua* (in 64) will take up the proper name.

LXVII. 9 non (ita Caecilio placeam cui tradita nunc sum
10 culpa meast, quamquam dicitur esse mea,
nec peccatum a me quisquam pote dicere quicquam:
uerum istius populi ianua qui te facit,
qui, quacumque aliquid reperitur non bene factum,
ad me omnes clamant: ianua, culpa tuast.

12 istius: *ita V*, isti *siue* istis *codd. deteriores.* qui te *V.*

The difficulties of line 12 may fortunately be taken by instalments. To begin with *qui te*, Scaliger's *Quinte*, palaeographically so attractive but based on an error as to the praenomen of Catullus, has led many astray; and the latest suggestion that it is to be accepted as referring to Caecilius, who is mentioned in line 9 in the third person, is of course only a guess. As Baehrens has here accepted an emendation of Munro's (p. 163), we shall hardly do wrong in following him and reading *quippe*[1], which particle (as B. says) 'conuenit populo leuiter contemptimque haec iacienti.' In emending the rest, some, like Vossius and Schwabe, have taken the *isti* of inferior MSS. These are not very successful in the rest of the line: *uerum isti populo ianua quid faciat?* Vossius, *u. isti populo ianua quanta facit!* Schwabe. Of those who start with *istius*, Baehrens reads *est uox*. So also Mowat, *Journ. of Phil.* XIV. p. 256. The objection to this (which Mr Mowat's illustration from Mart. 10. 6. 8 'populi uox erit *una* 'ueni' does not overcome), is that *est uox populi*, as a phrase = 'it is commonly reported,' is apparently without authority. The same applies to Ellis' *est os*. Scholars have erred, I think, in touching the first *i* of *istius*. The corruption is wholly in the latter half of the word. I propose

uerum—IS MOS populi—ianua quippe facit.

'But—that is the way with the public—the door is of course responsible.' It seems to me more likely that Catullus should have put it this way than that he should have mentioned twice what the people *say*. The MSS. are of no value in determining the division of words, as we have already seen: and if *iu* were written for *m*, the rest would follow as a matter of course.

[1] Baehrens indeed reads the 'archaic' form *quipe*. But our MSS. cannot be trusted in a point of this kind. Both O and G err frequently in writing a letter once instead of twice, and vice versa: thus 68[b]. 70 *sicari* O, 74 *pertullit* G (*pertulit* O), *deterrioris* G, 92 *contullit* G, 95 *Catulo* O, the second *l* being added afterwards. O frequently spells *Catullus* with one *l* as 6. 1, 8. 1; but in 42. 9 O agrees with G in writing *catulli* for *catuli*.

LXVIII. 27 quare quod scribis "Veronae turpe, Catulle,
esse quod hic quisquis de meliore notast,
frigida deserto tepefecit membra cubili,"
id, Manli, non est turpe, magis miserumst.

27 Catullo *edd.* 28 quiuis *Lachmann.* est *add. Perreius.* 29 tepefacit *V*, tepefecit *ω Munro*, tepefaxit *Lachmann*, tepefactet *Bergk. uulg.*

I have given Munro's reading of this passage, as I think his view of it, as set forth in *Elucidations* pp. 172—174, to be beyond question correct. We do not know of course what *hic* 28 refers to; but Manlius may have been at Baiae. I only differ from Munro in one point. In 27 I think *Catullo* should be read. The change is almost nothing, and no change is more frequent in our MSS. than the assimilation of terminations, even when the sense is completely ruined by it (see below, p. 267). It is purely a matter of feeling, but the voc. does seem very awkward to me here; and as Munro himself points out Catullus, though quoting from Manlius' letter, was not tied down to the exact form which it took. Amongst the objections to the common view, one seems to be absolutely fatal. Line 29 cannot mean 'solus dormiat'. *frigida* would agree admirably with *deserto*, as the echo quoted by Riese from Ovid shows, *A. A.* 3. 70, 'frigida deserta nocte iacebis anus'; but it is stultified by the addition of *tepefactet*, against which we have to remember also that it is a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*. The sense of lines 28, 29 is exactly that of 37. 14 'hanc boni beatique Omnes amatis.' As regards the reading of 28 there is a stronger case for the addition of *est* (which might easily have fallen out at the end of the line, cf. 30. 7; 55. 11; 63. 78; 95. 9) than in 1. 8, because here the predicate is an indeclinable phrase.

LXVIII[b]. 27 is clausum lato patefecit limite campum
isque domum nobis isque dedit dominam
ad quam communes exerceremus amores
quo mea se molli candida diua pede
intulit, etc.

28 dominae *uulg.* 29 ad quem *Baehrens, alii alia.*

id. 115 sitis felices et tu simul et tua uita
et domus * in qua lusimus, et domina.

116 lusimus et domina *edd.*

I am glad to see that Schmidt has broken with the German tradition here; and has adopted Ellis' unquestionably correct interpretation of the MS. text. After his remarks, Preface, p. cxxvi, Ellis' notes ad loc., and Munro's observations in his recantation, *Journal of Philology* VIII. 333, I will only sum up the very strong arguments for this side. (1) *et domus et dominus* is a regular phrase: compare Ellis on 61. 31, and to take its members separately involves a mental dislocation: (2) *domina* 'mistress' is a sense not found till Tibullus: (3) *ad quam* (= apud quam) the editors have to assume to be corrupt; but no even plausible substitute has been suggested: (4) *isque* is extremely weak if *dominae* be read: (5) Catullus is speaking of what was done for *him*, not for Lesbia: (6) it is very unlikely that he should anticipate the *candida diua* of 30. To reply to some objections, Catullus does not say 'dare dominam' but dare dominam *ad quam*, etc. What difficulty would there be in the corresponding prose phrase 'dedit domum et dominam cuius hospitio uteremur'? There is no reason for identifying *tua uita* 116 with *domina*, and none for supposing Allius lent his own house.

In 116 the lacuna has been variously supplied. The *nos* of ω and Munro, and the *ipsi* of Pantagathus, seem to me to throw the emphasis on the wrong word. Baehrens' *domus ipsa* is good, but it would be nearer to the MSS. and perhaps better in point of sense to read

et domus <ILLA> in qua lusimus, et domina.

id. 101 atqui nec diuis homines componier aequomst
ingratum tremuli tolle parentis onus
nec tamen illa mihi dextra deducta paterna
fragrantem Assyrio uenit odore domum,
105 sed furtiua dedit mira munuscula nocte
ipsius ex ipso dempta uiri gremio.

Post 101 *lacunam indicant edd. omnes.* 105 mira *V*, muta *Heyse uulg.*

On this passage Munro (p. 191) observes that "*tolle* must have the usual sense of this imperative, 'away with' 'have done with,' a sense so common as to need no illustration": and although he himself without much probability reads *at quia*, his translation gives the general sense very well. "But as mortals should not be compared with gods [and as Juno's wrongs are far greater than mine, do not indulge, Catullus, in bootless complaints and] have done with the thankless *task* of an over anxious father." It is odd that he should not have seen that, in the word in italics, he was translating

ingratum tremuli tolle parentis OPVS.

Onus cannot be pressed into any reasonable sense and is simply due to the copyist being misled by that ambiguity in *tollere*, which the epigram quoted by Suetonius *Aug.* 39 turned to such good account: 'quis neget Aeneae magna de stirpe Neronem? Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem.' If this suggestion be accepted, there seems little reason for supposing a lacuna. The *nec* in *v.* 101 corresponds to *nec tamen* 'nor again' (see Munro's note) in *v.* 103, and *v.* 104 is parenthetical. The *atqui* qualifies the comparison implied in 97: "Juno has had the same unfaithfulness to submit to that I have. Yet even so, I must remember that I am only a mortal while she is a goddess, and that I have not the claims (which she has) of legitimate wedlock." Munro urges in favour of a lacuna that *tolle* requires that *Catulle* should have preceded as in VIII. and elsewhere. Baehrens however does not feel this, as he fills up the assumed lacuna without the vocative. I think we may fairly say that no emphasis is laid on the person in *tolle, tolle opus* being nearly equivalent to 'tollendum opus est.' The use of 'desine' in 73. 1 below is almost exactly parallel.

In 105 I cannot defend the *mira* of V by any parallel in Latin: but its use is very near to that of *θαυματός* or *θαυμαστός* in Pindar, as *Pyth.* 10. 30 *ἐς Ὑπερβορέων θαυματὰν ὁδὸν*, *Nem.* 9. 45 *θαυμαστὸν ὅλβον*. 'Wunderschön' is the sense required: compare Ellis' note. In any case *muta* (Heyse) does not satisfy me.

LXXI.

I do not propose to say much on this piece. In line 1 si quoi iure bono sacer alarum obstitit hircus, the *iure* has been wrongfully assailed. It has nothing to do with *bono*, which is dative masculine and agrees with *quoi*. The sense is that of a 'fashionable' man or, in modern slang, 'a swell.' Compare 37. 19 'Egnati opaca quem bonum facit barba,' and 14 of the same poem quoted above. The MS reading *uiro* is perhaps a gloss (on *bono*), substituted for the *iure* which it very much resembled.

3 aemulus iste tuus qui uestrum exercet amorem.

This line is corrupt, as the juxtaposition of *tuus* and *uestrum* shows. I propose (taking a hint from Baehrens' *tuo—lecto*) to read

aemulus iste, TORO qui VESTRO exercet amorem,

toro having been assimilated by *aemulus iste* and *uestro* by *amorem*. For the phrase *exercet amorem* compare 68^b. 29. Although *uestro* need not necessarily be taken for 'tuo' here, I agree entirely with Schwabe and Munro that it has this sense in Catullus. The latter does not exaggerate when he says (p. 216) that, if *uester* in 99. 6 is not = *tuus* (as also in 39. 20), "any *tuus* in the language might be made out to be really a *uester*."

LXXIII.

Desine de quoquam quicquam bene uelle mereri
aut aliquem fieri posse putare pium.
omnia sunt ingrata, nihil fecisse benigne
immo etiam taedet obestque magisque magis:
ut mihi quem nemo grauius nec acerbius urget
quam modo qui me unum atque unicum amicum habuit.

4 *ita V.* prodest *edd.* (iuuerit *Baehrens*, iam iuuat *Munro*). immo etiam taedet taedet obestque magis *Auantius, Haupt-Vahlen.*

I think it will be granted to me that the restorations of this passage are palaeographically not very probable, although both *que* and *magis*, as the editors tacitly assume, *may* have arisen from dittography. Of the supplements proposed for the

assumed lacuna, none, I think, are satisfactory; *prodest* least of all. The spondaic beginning followed by a pause throws it into disagreeable relief, and distracts the mind from the really emphatic *nihil*. I suppose Baehrens' *iuuerit* is the Perfect Subjunctive; but, whether it is that or a Future Perfect, I cannot agree with him that 'modesta illa loquendi forma multo est aptior iucundiorque'; the directness of the context requires a Present Indicative. *iam iuuat*, the proposal of Munro, would be better without the *iam*, which anticipates the special reference to Catullus' own case in *ut mihi*. Lastly, Avantius' repetition of *taedet* is weak.

I believe the double *magis* to be from the very hand of Catullus. Compare 64. 274 'post uento crescente *magis*, *magis* increbrescunt'; 38. 3 'malest, me hercule, et, ei, laboriose *et magis magis* in dies et horas'; 68^{b}. 7 'notescatque *magis* mortuus *atque magis*.' These two last passages irresistibly suggest

omnia sunt ingrata, nihil fecisse benigne:
immo taedet obestque ET magis ATque magis.

The *et* is still to be seen in *etiam*, which seems also to contain an *m* derived from *magis*. Although *immo etiam* is a good phrase, I am afraid we cannot have it here; if any one regrets it, let him compare the only other place where 'immo' occurs in Catullus 77. 1, 2, 'Rufe mihi frustra ac nequiquam credite amice— Frustra? immo magno cum pretio atque malo.'

The metre and the structure are thoroughly Catullian. Compare for the accumulation of the conjunctions, besides the passages quoted, 68^{b}. 152 'haec atque illa dies atque alia atque alia.' If I am not mistaken, the first line also gains by the alteration. 'All is turned to ingratitude; it counts as nothing to have done a kindness.'

LXXXIII. 3.

mule, nihil sentis si nostri oblita taceret,
sana esset: nunc quod gannit et obloquitur,
non solum meminit; sed, quae multo acrior est res,
iratast: hoc est, uritur et loquitur.

Lipsius' feeble and yet almost universally accepted emendation *coquitur* has only one recommendation; it is not far

from the MS. reading. If that is to be changed, and I do not feel sure of this, as it may mean 'she burns, and therefore speaks,' there is only one word that can replace it; and that is QVERITVR.

XCIV.

This piece should be punctuated with a question, thus:

Mentula moechatur, moechatur mentula? certe
hoc est quod dicunt: ipsa olera olla legit.

XCVII.

The tradition of V in line 3 should be retained

nilo mundius hoc nihiloque immundius illud.

Lachmann, followed by the editors, reads *immundior ille*; but the neuter is more contemptuous.

XCIX. 11 praeterea infesto miserum me tradere amori
non cessasti omnique excruciare modo,
ut mi ex ambrosia mutatum iam foret illud
sauiolum tristi tristius ambrosia.
15 quam quoniam poenam misero proponis amori,
numquam iam posthac basia surripiam.

It is with no small surprise that I see that no scholars have as yet found any difficulty in *misero amori*, which they take to mean 'mihi, amanti misero' or 'infelici meo in te ardori.' So Baehrens, who compares 91. 2 'in misero hoc nostro, hoc perdito amore fore,' where however the addition of 'hoc' and 'nostro' makes everything clear. So simple a writer as Catullus must surely have written *amor*IS, and *amori* must be merely due to the *amori* of *v.* 11. *misero*, of course, takes up the *miserum me* of the same verse.

CII. Si quicquam tacito commissumst fido ab amico
cuius sit penitus nota fides animi,
meque esse inuenies illorum iure sacratum,
Corneli, et factum me esse puta Harpocratem.

1 si quid quoi *Baehrens*, si quoi quid *Maehly*. taciti *Heinsius*, tacite *ω*. fido ab antiquo *V*, fido ut amico *Baehrens*. 4 putum *Schwabe*.

Bachrens has done good service by pointing out that the fidelity of the person who is entrusted with the secret is alone to the point; and that hence *ab* is corrupt. But his *fido ut amico* is awkward, if *tacito* be retained: *taciti* (genitive neuter) must, I think, be read in any case, while an alternative for the end of the line will be *fido* ET *amico*. Schwabe's *putum* in 4 is highly probable; I have already commented on the confusion of *a* and *u*.

CVII. Si quoi quid cupidoque optantique obtigit umquam
insperanti, hoc est gratum animo proprie.
quare hoc est gratum nobis quoque carius auro
quod te restituis, Lesbia, mi cupido,
5 restituis cupido atque insperanti, ipsa refers te
nobis. o lucem candidiore nota!
quis me uno uiuit felicior aut magis hac ē
optandus uita dicere quis poterit?

1 cupido *V.* 3 *ita V.* nobisque est, c. a. *Haupt*, nobisque hoc, c. a. *Statius*, nobis hoc, c. a. *Riese*, quouis quoque c. a. *Bachrens*. Lido (fuluo *alii*) quoque c. a. *Ellis, alia alii*. 7, 8 *ita O.* me est *G.* magis hac res optandas uita *Lachmann*, magis hace optandam uita dicere (ducere *ed. Cantabrigiensis*, degere *Baehrens*) *Ribbeck*, magi' mi esse optandum in uita *Statius*, magis ab dis optandum in uita *Ellis*.

Of the emendations of *v.* 3 that of Bachrens bears away the palm for neatness and ingenuity, but I am much afraid that the reading he proposes is not simple enough for Catullus. At any rate, I should have expected 'omni' instead of 'quouis.' The other suggestions either produce a weak line, like Haupt's and Statius', or do not satisfy palaeographical probabilities, as Riese's, or, like Ellis' *Lido* and other scholars' *fuluo*, they introduce superfluous embellishments quite foreign to the character of this poem, which should be compared in this respect with 72, 73, 75, 82, 104, etc. I cannot help thinking that 'carus' has its usual reference in Catullus to persons. 'Dearer than gold' is the nearest that the Latin can come to the sublimated phrase of Sappho χρύσου χρυσοτέρα, *Fragm.* 122 (B.). Compare also Tibullus 1. 8. 31 '*carior* est *auro* iuuenis.' It is interesting to note that in the other places where the

comparative of *carus* is found, the allusion is to Lesbia, 68^{b}. 119 (159) 'mihi quae me carior ipso est,' 104. 2 'ambobus mihi quae carior est oculis,' and so in 82. 2—4. I think then we should read and punctuate

quare hoc est gratum nobis quoque, carioR auro
quod te restituis, Lesbia, mi cupido.

r and *s* are confused in the MSS. as 'ruber estuore' V (uber aestuosae) 46. 5, 'citaries' O 61. 42, id. 68 'uities' O (for uitier). Those who accept Lachmann's alteration in 97. 3 (see above) will need no other illustration. The relation of the clause 'quare...quoque' to the preceding couplet is made much clearer by the re-punctuation and is somewhat similar to that in 102. 1—3. The sense there was, 'If there have ever been trusty confidants, I am an example of one.' The sense here is, 'There is no pleasure like the unexpected realisation of our dearest wishes, and this is shown in my present delight.'

In disentangling lines 7 and 8, we must start with the general sense. This, fortunately, is clear: "What happier man is there than I? What thing more desirable could happen to any one?" To disinter it however from the débris in the MSS. is not so easy. We must deal first with the discrepancy of G and O. Here O is unquestionably truer to the original. G's *me* is a copyist's repetition of the preceding *me*, or an attempt to give a construction to *magis optandus*: G's *est* is a misreading of a compendium which often stands for 'est'; compare 100. 6 where O has ē g i ē (i.e. est igitur est) and G has ē exigitur est. Putting G aside, we have as the MS. tradition *hac ē*, where ē is not for 'est' but is rather the remains of '*rem*.' *Optandus* in the next verse has come from *optandā* (compare what was said on 10. 24 above), the *s* being due to assimilation, and *in* has been absorbed in *uita*. Hence we should read,

quis me uno uiuit felicior aut magis HAC REM
optandAM IN uita dicere quis poterit?

CX.

Aufilena, bonae semper laudantur amicae:
accipiunt pretium quae facere instituunt.
tu quod promisti mihi quod mentire, inimica es;
quod nec das et fers, turpe facis facinus.
aut facere ingenuae est aut non promisse pudicae,
Aufilena, fuit; sed data corripere
fraudando efficit plus quam meretricis auarae
quae sese toto corpore prostituit.

3 promisisti V. mentire *nos in Mnemosyne*, mentita V *vulgo*. 4 turpe facis facinus *Auantius*, saepe facis facinus V. 7 officio *Riese*, officium *Marcilius*. auarae est *Calpurnius, alii*.

I will repeat here my note in *Mnemosyne* on *v.* 3 as I have something to add to it. "Bene corrigunt *promisti* et ad *promisse* us. 5 accommodatissime; sed *mentita* quoque uitiosum est. nam et ipsum subobscurum est nisi *et* accesserit et praesens desideratur. uitio utrique medentes, MENTIRE reponimus. similia peccauit librarius in carmine LXIII 17 *euitastis* scripto pro *euirastis* et in c. XII. 1 *Matrucine* pro *Marrucine*. nam de *a* et *e* litteris confusis superuacaneum est dicere.' That the present tense is required is shown by the presents in the following lines 'nec *das* et *fers*' 'ingenuae *est*' which is opposed to 'fuit.' The reference is to a single occurrence, and this shows that *v.* 4 is corrupt in V. Catullus would not have been cheated *saepe*. Riese and others get the right sense by supplying *es* with *mentita* ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, on which Baehrens observes "praeter contortam conlocationem displicet quod 'es' ex altera 'inimica es' suppletur... durissime et contra Catulli usum." The last objection is removed by my emendation: but the 'contorta conlocatio' must now be considered. In the first place *quod promisti* is put first because it strikes the keynote of the passage; Aufilena has broken an *engagement*. For the postponement of the conjunction see Kühner *Lat. Gr.* II. p. 1072, or Roby, § 1046. In the second place, little difficulty would be felt if '*quae* promisisti' were read for *quod*; but the ambiguity, like that of the English 'that,' is one of the eye only and disappears when the verse is read aloud. As scholars are not unfrequently misled by the effect

of proximity to join words which should be separated and vice versa, I may be allowed to give a few examples of the tendency. To begin with obvious examples, I am sure that there are very few scholars, to whom the passages are not quite familiar, that do not feel impelled, in spite of the frequency of the use of the Greek article as a demonstrative, to join τοὺς with the participle in Herodotus I. 86 καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἑρμηνέας ἐπείρεσθαι τὸν Κροῖσον τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέοιτο, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν, and to take πρὸς as a preposition instead of an adverb in Aristoph. *Lys.* 628 καὶ διαλλάττειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἄνδρασιν Λακωνικοῖς[1]. The same tendency still vitiates the common interpretation of Sallust *Fragm. Hist. Oratio Lepidi* 1 'Clementia et probitas uostra, Quirites,... plurimum timoris mihi faciunt aduorsum tyrannidem L. Sullae ne, quae ipsi nefanda existimatis, ea parum credundo de aliis circumueniamini, praesertim cum illi spes omnis in scelere atque perfidia sit neque se aliter tutum putet quam si peior atque intestabilior metu uostro fuerit *quo captis* libertatis curam miseria eximat aut, si prouideritis, in uitandis periculis magis quam ulciscendo teneamini'; *quo* 'in order that' is taken with *captis* (which means 'if you are entrapped' and is opposed to *si prouideritis*), and the supposed relative is connected with *metu uostro*, to the utter ruin of the concinnity of the sentence. In Catullus, I may mention 71. 1, on which I have already commented, and 62. 21, 22 'qui natam possis complexu auellere matris, Complexum matris retinentem auellere natam,' where I am convinced that my restoration in 22 (MSS. *complexu*) would have been made long ago, but for the apparent ambiguity of the singular. 'complex*us*' would have been as easy a suggestion as *quae* here; but the singular is obviously right in both cases. In line 7 either *officium* or *officio* gives the proper sense and construction; for the active use of *fraudari* and for the singular *officium* see Riese's note ad loc. An *est* is certainly necessary, but it seems to me much better to place it after *officio* or

[1] A similar blunder has been detected by Prof. A. Palmer's acuteness in a comic fragment, Stobaeus *Flor.* 57. 7 τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, σχῆμα διατηρεῖ μόνον, 'like ladies, it attends only to appearances.' "Owing to the proximity of σχῆμα the article seemed to be conjoined to it." *Hermathena*, VI. p. 298.

officium than at the end of the line. The corruption *efficit* for officiūest is the more easily explained, and the sense of the line made much clearer.

CXIV. Firmano saltu non falso Mentula diues
fertur qui tot res in se habet egregias,
aucupium omne genus piscis prata arua ferasque:
nequiquam: fructus sumptibus exsuperat.
quare concedo sit diues dum omnia desint;
saltum laudemus dum modo ipse egeat.

1 Firmanus saluis *V*, *corr. Auantius.* 3 aucupiā *G*, an cupiā *O*, aucupia *alii.* 6 dum domo *Lachmann.* egeas *Auantius.* dum modo tu ipse egeas *Fröhlich*, d. m. eo ipse egeat *L. Mueller*, d. m. te ipso egeat *Baehrens.*

These two obscure epigrams upon Mamurra (CXIV, CXV) have been the subject of a prolonged study by Munro, *Criticisms* pp. 221—227. He has seen, what most have overlooked, that the *saltus* referred to is the technical saltus of 800 iugera. His quotations (p. 224) from Gallus Aelius ap. Fest. p. 302 compared with the Digest (Marquardt II. p. 148) and Hyginus (*Gromatici*, p. 205 (Lach.)) prove, as he says, that when Catullus enumerates *arua, prata, siluae, paludes*, "he cannot be using *saltus* in the non-technical sense of the word." The exact (though, probably, not correct) specifications of CXV point in the same direction. Mamurra, says Catullus, has a *saltus* near Firmum—a fine property indeed; thirty iugera of arable land, forty of pasture, and seven hundred and thirty waste water and forest. Munro, indeed, misled like others by the "hyperbole of the 2nd poem," assumes that "Mamurra had got, in addition to his *saltus* of 800 iugera or so, a large tract of uncultivated hill- and forest-land." But this assumption is only made to meet a difficulty which I shall remove below; and surely Catullus could never have said that the *saltūs* of 115. 5,—"which looks like nonsense" unless *saltus* has its technical meaning (for so Munro argues),—were *in uno saltu*, if they were "in addition to" the *saltus*. We do not know where the *saltus* was situated; but the *maria* of 115. 2 suggests that it was near to the sea, from which Firmum itself was only distant about six miles,

while the *Firmanum castrum* was actually on the coast. The *saltus* had certainly been presented to Mamurra: Munro says, by Caesar. Rather by Pompey, as I shall presently show. And that grant was the occasion and perhaps the cause of these ebullitions of animosity, in which Catullus derides the gift and bitterly satirises the donor and the recipient. Avantius' *Firmano saltu* in 114. 1 seems to be certain. *Firmanus saltus*, which some, e.g., Schwabe, read involves taking Mentula as the vocative, referring *sit dies* and *dum omnia desint* to the *saltus*, and changing *egeat* to *egeas* in the last line. *Formianus* is a wanton alteration of the text. In line 3 it is hard to choose between *aucupia* and *aucipiū*, and the case of *piscis* is not clear; but the reading is sound. Not so, however, the last verse which, as it stands, is metrically impossible. Though the metre is bad, the sense is good and, were it prose, would leave nothing to be desired. "I admit that he is 'rich,' provided that (in reality) he has nothing; let us praise the *saltus*, provided its master is a beggar." The editors[1] have not observed this, and have weakened a vigorous sense by inserting various words after *modo* in order to fill up the line. Since, now, no supplements after *modo* can be satisfactory, we are driven to cast about for a different remedy; and comparing the *dum omnia desint* of the previous line, we are led to the conjecture that *modo* is not only corrupt but out of place. The confirmation of this, 'quod minime rearis,' comes from the second epigram. The curious corruption *tot moda* for *tot bona*, so curious indeed that many have believed it to be genuine, is explained by the occurrence of the syllables *moda* in exactly the same place in the verse just four lines above[2]. This *moda* can only be the remains of *<com>moda* = the *res egregias* of 2, and the *bona* of 115. 4. In order to complete the emendation, *saltum* must be changed to *saltus*.

saltus laudemus COMMODA dum ipse egeat.

[1] With the exception of Lachmann, whose *domo* goes far astray, and Munro who proposes a pun on *modō* 'a measure of land,' and *modō*, 'moderation.'

[2] The *b* of *bona* is the 17th letter and the *m* of *commoda* the 16th letter in the line. It is interesting that Munro actually conjectured in 115. 4 *tot qui uno in saltu commoda possideat.*

It will be conceded that the corruption of *dum (com)moda* to *dummodo*, and the change of *saltus* to the acc. in order to provide it with a construction, were very easy alterations; while transpositions of words are by no means uncommon in our MSS. Compare 23. 13 'aridum magis' V for m. a.; 39. 3 'excitat orator' for o. e.; 61. 192 'est tibi' for t. e.; in 66. 85 V has 'illius amala leuis bibat dona irrita puluis.' Compare also above on 1. 8; 62. 37 and 62. 59.

CXV. Mentula habet instar triginta iugera prati
quadraginta arui: cetera sunt maria.
cur non diuitiis Croesum superare potis sit
uno qui in saltu tot bona possideat
prata arua ingentis siluas saltusque paludesque
usque ad Hyperboreos et mare ad Oceanum?
omnia magna haec sunt tamen ipsest maximus, alter
non homo sed uero mentula magna minax.

1 *ita V.* noster *Auantius*, iuxta *Scaliger*, iusti *Statius*, Caesar *coni. Schwabe.* 2 uaria *Baehrens*, paria *Fröhlich.* 4 totmoda *V*, *correxit Auantius.* 5 uastasque paludes *Pleitner*, tractusque paludesque *Baehrens.* 7 alter *nos (item Schwabe, ed. 2)*, ultor *V*, ultro, horum, *alii uiri docti.*

Two of the three corruptions in this piece have been already removed, that in line 4 by Auantius, and that in line 7 by myself[1]. The remaining one I hope to remove in the course of this paper. For this purpose I shall find it necessary to examine the epigram in some detail, the more especially as I cannot assume my observations in *Mnemosyne* to be immediately accessible to readers of this journal.

With the ordinary reading and explanation, this epigram presents several great and, as I think, insuperable difficulties; the obscurity of its connexion, the extraordinary feebleness of its point, and the impossibility of reconciling the gigantic exaggerations of verses 5 and 6 with the facts about the *saltus*. Its obscurity is darkness palpable to all; and on the feebleness of its

[1] I wish I could say also independently by Dr Schwabe. Unfortunately that scholar, of whose present and former services to the elucidation of Catullus it is impossible to speak too highly, has shown by his conjecture *Caesar* in *v.* 1 that his *alter* is not my *alter*.

point I wrote in words not a whit too strong for the occasion: 'ineptissime in ultimo uersu de solo Mamurra cogitatur, belle enim Catullus, qui primo uersu mentulam eum appellaverat, mentulam magnam et minacem ultimo appellaturus erat[1].' If, say, the nickname of Mamurra had been the *uoltur* which Scaliger conjectured for *ultor* in the seventh line, the following would exactly represent the general impression of the piece: "Mamurra, the Vulture, has a vast domain with everything on the vastest scale. But he is vaster himself, no man but a vast and rapacious vulture"—truly a lame and impotent conclusion!

But this difficulty, great as it is, is altogether dwarfed by the next one. What is this one single *saltus* (l. 4) which contains within itself not merely the beggarly thirty iugera of arable and forty of meadow land but *prata* and *arua* of undefined extent? which, although it is only one *saltus* itself, has a multitude of *saltus*[2] within its boundaries? this *saltus* finally whose vast extent reaches to the Hyperborean land and the Western Ocean? Munro writes (p. 226) "The precise point of the huge hyperbole in the 6th verse I cannot say I catch." No wonder! If a single *saltus*, even with 'additions,' is in question, it is not merely a huge hyperbole but utter riot and madness of language. But Catullus goes on to pile Ossa on Olympus. "All this is great," he deliberately says, "but the master is greatest of all." And we are to believe that Catullus has introduced this greatest of all with all this proclamation of his greatness, solely for the purpose of again applying to him a well-known opprobrious nickname. Surely 'omnia haec perplexa atque absurda sunt, nisi perspexeris alia describi, alia intellegi.' What then is this mysterious *saltus* of Mamurra's? Literally, it is the 800 iugera which were bestowed on him by triumviral favour near Firmum: symbolically, it is Pontus (29. 18), Spain (*ib.* 19),

[1] Baehrens, who occupies himself too much with the literal meaning of the substantive, gives suitable illustrations of the *magna* and *minax* in this application, and certainly Catullus makes stinging use of the ambiguity. But it must be borne in mind that it is the power, not the debauchery, of Mamurra that is the subject of this epigram.

[2] It is easy to say with Baehrens and others that *saltus* in 5 is corrupt: not so easy to emend it.

Gaul and Britain (*ib.* 4, 20), in a word the whole Roman empire which the same favour placed at his disposal, from the uttermost Northern boundaries of Pompey's conquests in the East to the Ocean limits of Caesar's in the West[1]. It is this world-saltus with all that it contains[2] that is the real 'saltus' of Mamurra, as much his and as free to him to take his pleasure in, as if it were his own by actual assignment. With the expansion of the *saltus*, the form of its owner too has dilated. We see that he is no longer a subordinate but a copartner in the coalition which then disposed of the Roman world. The triple repetition of the epithet, *magna—maximus—magna*, almost dins into our ears that he is an *alter Magnus*—a second Pompey the Great[3]! But this is not all; the sting of the epigram is yet to come. We learn from the grammarian Plotius Sacerdos[4] that a popular verse applied to Pompey a word of identical meaning with the nickname of Mamurra; and we see that in the words '*non homo sed uero mentula*' Catullus has copied the phrasing of that verse so exactly that the reference is quite unmistakable. No one knows better than Catullus how to turn such a circumstance to account. 'Like man, like master' is, so to say, the text of this couplet. Mamurra is lifted for a moment to the height of Pompey's position, in

[1] *Hyperboreos* seems to refer more especially to Pompey as *Oceanum* to Caesar. The general view of the ancient world as to the position of the Hyperboreans seems to be well given in Smith's Atlas of Ancient Geography, which spreads them out far to the North of the Euxine. In a matter of this kind controversy is idle; but Ellis can hardly be right in supposing that Gaul could be referred to in this word. 'Sub septemtrione' which he quotes is an entirely different phrase.

[2] It may perhaps be asked why, if this is the sense, Catullus has not enumerated oppida, gentes, and the like amongst the objects which the *saltus* comprises? Certainly if he had done so, his meaning could hardly have lain in the dark for a thousand years; but a great part of the force of the epigram would have been destroyed by the destruction of the parallelism between the literal and the metaphorical *saltus*.

[3] This title of Pompey's was the subject of frequent allusions, both hostile and friendly, e.g. Pliny N. H. 18 § 35 'non fraudando hac quoque *magnitudine sua* Cn. Pompeio.'

[4] Plotius Sacerdos *Gram. Lat.* VI. 461 (Keil) 'et illud (ἀστεισμός) erat de Pompeio qui coloris erat rubri sed animi inuerecundi': 'quem non pudet et rubet, *non est homo sed ropio.*' ropio autem est aut minium aut piscis robens (? rubeus) aut penis.'

order that in the next they may both be swept down to the nadir of contempt: 'Great is Mamurra, as great as Great Pompey. Great are both—not men but mentulae.'

We must now return to the first line. *instar* is grammatically as well as metrically faulty; for if it means 'to the amount of,' it requires a genitive. The second fault, it is true, is remedied by Lachmann's *Mentula, habes*; but, if the preceding discussion is worth anything, not well. *iuxta* is doubtful Latin and sense. The amplifications *iusti*, *tonsi* (Munro) simply weaken the line. There remains Auantius' *noster*. Munro objects to this (p. 222) that Catullus would not have joined Mentula with a word that declared itself to be masculine. I cannot assent to this. The word has practically become a proper name, and *Mentula noster* is not stranger than Plautus' 'mea Glycerium' and the like. It surely cannot be contended that Catullus could have written 'Mentula nostra' for 'our friend M.'[1] But another objection seems fatal, *noster* is too familiar to be applied to the detested Mamurra. The only word which satisfies all the conditions is the one which is coupled with *mentula* the first time that it is applied to Mamurra, that is VESTER. With this reading there is no need for a vocative, such as Schwabe's *Caesar*. For the reference to 29. 13 is unmistakable.

It will be gathered from what precedes that I cannot assent to the interpretation of *maria* in 2 as 'fish ponds,' or to the alteration of it to *uaria* (Baehrens) or *paria* (Fröhlich). The word is genuine, 'the rest is only sea': it at once sums up the unproductiveness of the 'saltus' and paves the way for the transition in the following verses.

I conclude with a few words on the spelling adopted in most of the recent editions. No editor apparently has set before himself the task of restoring the spelling of Catullus' own times. Most—some, it is true, with deviations here and there—

[1] The first employment of such a name (29. 13) is a different matter. Besides, there is a personal insult on Mamurra's patrons, which the common noun alone could convey. This insult, elsewhere in Catullus directed against Caesar only, makes it doubtful whether *uostra* does not = *tua*, a usage which certainly occurs in Catullus.

have confined themselves to the humbler task of restoring the remains of that spelling in the presumed archetype of the existing MSS. The method is intelligible, but the results unsatisfactory. I have already pointed out some of the most glaring inconsistencies that it involves (note on XLV, p. 236); and it is easy to find others. I shall not however press these as they reflect only too truly our present defective knowledge of the chronology of Latin spelling. But the method requires to be modified, first by the elimination of all such spellings as could not have proceeded from Catullus, such as the barbarous *karum* of 2. 6, *iocundus, connubia* (both in the teeth of the Thuanaeus), *libidinis* acc. plur., a form justly condemned by Buecheler (*Grundriss der Lat. Decl.*[2] § 140). Catullus could as soon have written *nichil* or *silencium*. Doubtful too are the nominatives in *-is* aequal*is* 62. 32 since nob*is* precedes, and par*is* 57. 3 due to 'maculae' being regarded as a gen. Secondly, the MS. evidence requires to be more carefully sifted. There is no doubt that their corruptions often point to *ei* = later *ī*; but its restoration in *i-solated* passages must be governed entirely by a consideration of the passage in question. Thus Bachrens' *seitis* (for *satis* V) 68[b]. 115 is highly probable because *ei* and *a* are frequently confused in the MSS. This cannot be said of *seis* (*sis* O, *scis* G) 34. 21, when we have *seuscitat* (for *susc.*) in 68[b]. 84, and on the other hand *simus* (O, for *scimus*) 61. 146. Lach. rightly gave *nei* = *ni* (*ne* V) in 6. 2 and Marcilius *nei* in *ib.* 14; but that does not justify the assumption that *e* or *ec* may be taken everywhere to conceal *ei*, as h*eic* et illeic (*hec et illo* V) *ib.* 9, or h*eie* (*hec* V) 67. 37, or atqu*ei* (atque V) 68[b]. 101. Again, the constant assimilations of the terminations of adjacent words, as naui*um* celerrim*um* 4. 2, tu[*a*] commod*a* 23. 24, de*a* menstru*a* (O) 34. 17, turpe Catulle (see above), munere assidue 61. 234, ad marit*um* tamen iuuenem (a complex case) 61. 196, me*os* Calu*os* 53. 3, septimi*os* (*us*) suos 45. 1, show that pri*us* unanim*us* 66. 80 may conceal *-is* as well as *-eis* (Bachrens). I will now, by way of compensation, add one passage not noticed by the edd., in which the MS. tradition indicates *ei*. In 66. 86 *indignis* G, *indignatis* O, clearly point to *indign*EIS.

J. P. POSTGATE.

MISCELLANEA (TACITUS &c.).

1. Tac. Ann. xii. 31 cunctaque castris antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat (so MSS)[1].

Read castris *ad Tris*antonam.

It has been usually supposed that the operations of Ostorius Scapula here referred to, consisted in the erection of a chain of forts from the Severn to the river denoted by the corrupt *antonam*. Mannert suggested, and most scholars down to the latest editor Io. Müller have accepted, the conjecture *Avonam*, the Stratford Avon. But, apart from palaeography, this view is open to two serious objections. The Warwickshire Avon is not a large river, and a line of forts from it to the Severn would begin nowhere; it would be a most unscientific and unmilitary arrangement. Besides, the words of Tacitus by no means suggest a 'line' of forts (*castellis*)[2]; they apply far better to a single fortress. Lately Mr Henry Bradley (*Acad.* Apr. 28, 1883 and *Archaeologia* xlviii.) has made a suggestion which obviates the first of these difficulties, and does less violence to the MSS reading. He argues that the British name of the Trent was *Trisantona* and proposes to read *cunctosque cis Trisantonam*. The editor of Ptolemy, C. Müller, has made a very similar conjecture *cunctaque castris cis Trisantonam*. Now it must be admitted that the Trent is a better ending for a line of forts than the Avon, but both the conjectures seem very doubtful.

[1] The reading *antoam* given in the English tr. of Mommsen's *Roman Provinces* i. 178 n., is one of the many misprints in that book.

[2] I doubt if *castra* = 'forts' is latin. *Castrum* means 'fort', generally with a proper name, but *castra* denotes only (1) 'a camp', or (2), where the context clearly expresses plurality, 'camps'. The context in this passage does not express plurality. If I am right, the grammars are wrong in giving *duo castra* 'two forts'. *Bina castra* 'two camps' is, of course, common.

Mr Bradley wanders rather far from the MSS, while Müller's *tris cis tris* is a most untacitean rhythm. And the objection still remains that Tacitus does not say anything of a line of forts. An entirely new and far better theory has been proposed by Mommsen (*Röm. Gesch.* v. 152). He identifies *castra* with the fortress of Viroconium (Wroxeter), and, reading ad...ntonam, makes the latter word represent 'der sonst nicht überlieferte Name des Flusses Tern'. I venture to think this lost name may be *Trisantona*. That word (*Acad.* May 19, 1883)[1] would, it appears, regularly pass into something like 'Tryhannon,' and the older name of the Tern is Tren. Palaeographically it is easy to read *castris ad Trisantonam*, for the copyist's eye would naturally wander from *-astris* to *ad Tris*, and the text then most admirably describes the site of Wroxeter, just below the junction of Severn and Tern.

Objection has recently (*Archaeological Journal* xliv. 355) been taken to Mommsen's identification of *castra* with Viroconium. The writer states that, being well acquainted with the camps of Shropshire, he does "not think that the *two* camps of Wroxeter and Bury Walls (Hawkstone) quite satisfy the description of Tacitus", these two camps being, he adds, the only two of Roman construction in the Tern valley. It is clear, however, that the objection does not hold. Mommsen is speaking of one fortress, not two (or more) forts. I do not wish to *argue* the probability of Mommsen's view, but I venture to think it is greatly increased by the simple emendation I have proposed.

It must be added that the argument in favour of *Avonam* is not really strengthened even if camps be pointed out between Severn and Avon (*Arch. Journ.* xix. 174). Camps can be found anywhere, and a recent writer has traced a line from Severn to Nen, which latter he imagines to represent *Antona* (*ib.* xxxix. 77).

2. Tac. Hist. i. 6 *inauditi atque indefensi tanquam innocentes perierunt.* Editors have been much puzzled by the words *tanquam innocentes.* Orelli renders 'because innocent',

[1] Rhys, *Celtic Britain* (ed. 2) p. 80.

a sense which the words hardly bear. Heräus paraphrases 'sie galten für unschuldige', Meiser '*quia non a iudicibus damnati*'. I think the meaning is simpler and more pointed. A tyrant who knows that his victim can make a good defence, naturally executes him without allowing opportunity for that defence to be made. So here 'they perished unheard, as if innocent victims of a tyrant'. Mr Godley in his recent edition suggests 'they were so secure in their innocence that they did not attempt defence'. This rendering, besides being illsuited to the context, is odd in itself. If Mr Godley were accused and felt himself innocent, would he, under ordinary circumstances, not attempt to defend himself?

3. Tac. Germ. 43 *Retro...Cotini...terga Marcomannorum Quadorumque claudunt...Cotinos Gallica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos...Cotini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt.* The geographical position of the Cotini, or Gothini, as the name is less correctly spelt, has been matter for some dispute. Possibly, a trace of this isolated Keltic tribe may be found on the north slopes of the Tatra. Anyone who has visited (say) Zakopane, will have noticed the difference between the ordinary Polish peasants and the mountaineers, 'Górals' as the townspeople call them (*Gora* = mountain). The social distinction is, perhaps, not unintelligible, but the contrast in physiognomy is very marked. I lately brought back from Galicia some photographs which seemed to shew the typical features of these mountaineers, and, on my submitting them to a very high authority, Dr Beddoe, F.R.S., he declared that the faces were distinctly Keltic, and referred to the Cotini. The identification may be strengthened by a further coincidence. It has generally been thought probable that the Cotini lived in western Galicia: one English writer, indeed, went so far as to derive *Galicia* from *Gallus*. And the only place in the district, where iron has been found, is Zakopane. The upper part of that village is known as 'the Ironworks', and the works are still to be seen there, though, I believe, it is no longer found profitable to use them.

4. Keil's Gr. Lat. v. 523. 23 (Augustini regulae) *sic 'subter fluctus mergor': si ex litore motus fiat in dimersionem, accusa-*

tivus est. *Dimersio* is otherwise unknown and gives little sense. Read *demersionem.*

5. Orientius (ed. Ellis) Comm. ii. 228 *ante diem nimio praemaduisse cibo* (so MSS).

Mr Nettleship is doubtless right in conjecturing *mero* for *cibo* which slipt in from *v.* 226. *Praemaduisse* is an otherwise unknown word: read *permaduisse,* which is common in late Latin.

6. *ib.* 276 *his lumen tunc flamma severa dabit* (so MSS).

For *tunc* perhaps *cunctum,* 'their whole light in Hell shall be &c.'

SCHOLIA ON CLAUDIAN.

A manuscript of Claudian in the Bodleian Library (Auct. F. 2. 16, saec. xii) which I some while ago collated for Dr Birt's projected edition of the poet, contains a number of interlinear glosses and marginal scholia. Possibly a specimen may be of some interest to those who have noticed the Claudian scholia recently printed by M. Chatelain from a Paris MS in the *Revue de Philologie.* I do not imagine that the Bodleian scholia are often of great value, so I only offer as specimens, the scholia to *De Rapt. Pros.* I. and part of *In Ruf.* I., with a few selected interlinear glosses. The scholia are written in a very abbreviated hand of the 13th century, and in many cases were obviously copied entire. The scribe has often, for example, left a space for a word which he filled in later.

De Rapt. Pros. I. 32. Taken from Fulgentius Myth. ii. 4. 9 and 10 almost word for word. 52 *ferratis*] quia fleeti non potest uel impediri eorum dispositio. 58] gentilis herror animas redire ad corpora. 89] tegeus mons est in quo nutritus erat mercurius filius maie filie athlantis. 241 *flamine*] uel flumine -i- aqua in qua faber ponit ferrum callidum. 250] non medium inter ignem et terram, quod hoc solum modo de aere mitti potest, et tunc non competenter diceret 'cadunt'. Idcirco dicatur medium in spera mundana quia ad medium in spera -i-

ad imum omnia ponderosa feruntur naturaliter. 251 *incanduit*] igne propinquo a parte superiore (interlinear). 252 *egit*] -i- mouit, agitauit (interlinear). 252 polus necessario mouetur quod ignis natura impellit. 255 quamuis fila menciantur fluctus, non enim sunt ueri fluctus, tamen celant illud mendacium quod pretendant apparenciam uerorum fluctuum, quod rite tument -i- recte sicut ueri fluctus et hoc ut celancia mentitos -i- celancia mendacium illud, mentitos enim passiue dixit contra usum. 255 fluctus est tumor aque mote. 258 subtegmen ima pars est filum quod intexitur tele. 259 inustus pro ualde ustus: intensiuum est in. 273 pro 'decorum ebur'. 276 quia luna ducit bigam. 287 *crastina*] -i- proserpina quae in crastino rapietur.

To the Praef. before Book II] istud totum ab hoc uersu usque illum locum 'impulit ionios' et cetera uiciosum intersertum est, quia non est de hoc opere sed prefacio cuiusdam alterius sed eiusdem auctoris.

In Rufinum I. Praef. 3 Spira res est circulus non rediens in punctum a quo incipit sed infra et extra. 5 Isidorus [Etym. xiv. 8. 185] parnasus mons thessalie qui gemino uertice est erectus in celum. Hic in duo finditur iuga, cirram et nisam, in quibus tollebantur liber et appollo. Hinc iuga duo a duobus fratribus chiteron et elicon dicuntur. 10 Statius in vii theb [349, 350] 'cephisi glaciale caput quo suetus hanelam ferre sitim phiton atque amnem auertere ponto'. 11 regio et regna nota nobiles et ignobiles quod omnes communiter laudes phebi cecinere. 12 *rura*] regna (interlinear): plenior au[ra] -i- spiritus diuinationis redditus consulentibus plenior uel aliter Plenior au -i- maior est fama tripodum sicut Virgilius in x° [vi. 818] 'gaudens popularibus auris' -i- fama siue fauore. 14 Themis erat diuinatrix quedam magni nominis in monte parnasi quam consuluit deucalion de reparatione hominum post diluuium. 16 sacra caterva -i- nobiles romani ut mecum plaudant I. 9 luna totum lumen habet a sole. 11 Isidorus [Hyginus ap. Isid. Nat. Rerum 48] terra est media mundi regione posita omnibus partibus celi in modum centri equali interuallo consistens. 12 hac consideratione quod dispositione diuina regebantur superna. 16 alterius partis controuersie que contradicens priori parte af-

firmat nil dispositione diuina sed omnia casu fieri: quandoque tota controversia, quandoque altera eius pars causa uocatur. 16 opinio epicuri erat mundum constare ex athomis fluitantibus et absque omni dispositione diuina uel lege nature concurrentibus in rerum formationes et hoc est se[mina] cur[rere] ua[cuo] mo[tu] et hac opinione nititur hanc causam probare per ipsos rerum euentus. 21 a suspicione mea scilicet ne crederetur non curare mortalia. 27 Fulgentius [Myth. i. 6] tres furias plutoni deseruire dicunt quarum prima est allecto que impausabilis dicitur, secunda thesiphone quasi tutō phone [*τούτων φωνή*] est uox istarum; tertia megera quasi magna contentio. primum non pausantibus furiam concipere, secundum est in uocem erumpere, tertium est iurgium protelare. 31 uere imperiosa fames unde Iuuenalis [iii. 78] 'greculus esuriens in celum iusseris ibit', Stacius in xi° 'nil non ausa fames', Lucanus 'nescit plebes ieiuna timere', Virgilius in vi° [276] 'malesuada fames'. 51 Theodosius] imperator romanus iustissimus et ideirco nos arcet a terris. 52 Ovidius in arte amandi [i. 96] 'per flores et thima summa uolant'. Item Aristoteles in Predicamentis qualis de habitu et dispositione similiter autem uirtus et iustitia et castitas. Horatius [Ep. i. 12. 8] in priori epistula abstemius herbis uiuis et urtica. 54 nobis uictis abiit uictoria (interlinear). 55 iustitia de celo prospexit. 63 *diem*] mundum illuminatum luce diei. 65 *uexare*] uel turbare (interlinear), uel laxare, est rumpere stabilitatem. 68 ecce causa quare motus anceps. 69 *pars Ditis cet.*] non audent infestare iouem quia timent plutonem fratrem eius. 72 nec penitus pacatus nec penitus commotus. 73 *lassa*] uel lenta, a longa mora (interlinear). 78 ecce qualiter illicite a filio. 79 Lucanus 'iussu iunonis inique horruit alcides uiso iam dite megeram'.

F. HAVERFIELD.

NOTES FROM KRAIN, CROATIA, AND SERBIA.

It is somewhat surprising at the present day, when great attention is paid to museums and collections of antiquities, that no attempt has been made to put together any 'Handbook' to the archæological museums of Europe. Various handbooks to the picture galleries of the Continent, or of separate countries, have proved exceedingly useful, and I venture to think that students would equally welcome a work which should, for example, describe briefly the Roman remains preserved in the local museums of Western Germany. At present such remains are apt to be overlooked. Guidebooks naturally do not waste space on them, and the tourist who might care to visit them remains in ignorance and passes on. Moreover, though adequate catalogues have been published for some museums, nothing of the sort has been done for many others. In the following article I wish, firstly, to mention some museums which I visited in 1887. I do not pretend to give an elaborate account of them, but a little perhaps is gained if it be recognized that the museums in question do exist, and are worth visiting. A second purpose of the article is to give some notices of important Roman sites, and to print a few unpublished inscriptions.

1. Laibach (Emona).

Laibach, being the capital of Krain, contains among other things, the *Landesmuseum*. The collections have quite recently been removed from their old cramped quarters near the Cathedral to a new and splendid home in the *Rudolfinum*. At the time when I saw them, the learned Director, Dr Deschmann, was busy arranging and cataloguing. The 'objects of greatest

interest' in the museum are the discoveries made (1) in the lake dwellings of Laibach 'moor', (2) in the prehistoric cemeteries of Watsch and St Margarethen, and (3) on various Roman sites, in particular Dernovo. (1) The first, which lie rather outside the scope of this *Journal*, may be dismissed briefly. The Laibach *Pfahlbauten*, first properly examined in 1875, have been fully described by v. Sacken and others, and do not appear to have yielded any very remarkable objects. They resemble other lake dwellings of Austria and Hungary in the presence of the copper axes, lance-heads, needles, from which Dr Much has sought to prove (*Mittheil. der k. k. Central-Commission für Denkmale* xi. p. civ, and xii. p. lviii) that copper was the earliest metal used in Europe. (2) Far more importance attaches to the second class. Watsch and St Margarethen are two villages in the hills of Krain, near which there have been found large prehistoric cemeteries closely resembling the famous cemetery of Hallstatt. They have been excavated at different times since 1878, and the discoveries, especially those made at Watsch, are of unusual value in illustrating the civilization of the so-called Hallstatt period. For one thing, they help to prove that this industry was not wholly borrowed from Etruria, or indeed from any known source. There are, indeed, various points of similarity with the earliest Greek and Oriental art, but the remains found at Hallstatt, and other places in central Europe, are now seen to be the products of an independent native industry, which one archæologist has gone so far as to call 'indogermanic' (F. v. Hochstetter *Gräberfunde von Watsch, &c.* p. 45). Unfortunately, the discoveries have not been kept together, a large part having been carried off to Vienna, but there is enough at Laibach to arrest the visitor's attention. The most important object in the Laibach collection is undoubtedly an ornamented bronze *situla*, found at Watsch. This is a bucket-shaped vessel, about 10 inches high and 5 inches round the bottom, with a handle, not a lid, and made of thin hammered bronze. It is adorned with 3 rows of figures, each $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. The upper row represents men on horseback and in chariots, the second feasting and games—a boxing match, in particular—the third animals, one a lion, the rest

horned. The piece is certainly a treasure. *Situlae* of similar make, but devoid of ornament, are not uncommon, but ornamented specimens are exceedingly rare, and often survive only in a fragmentary condition. This example has been described by Deschmann (*Mitth. der Central-Comm.* ix. pp. 16, 51, 99), who calls it Etruscan, and by F. v. Hochstetter (*l. c.*). The latter connects it closely with the Certosa *situla*[1] and endeavours to shew that the south and the east had very little influence on the designers of the two vessels. Very probably he goes too far. The two vessels, though undeniably similar, differ markedly in some points. The execution of the Certosa one is far superior to that of the Watsch specimen. The figures of both men and animals are done much better, and with more freedom; they are the work of a more skilful artist. Again, the Certosa designs shew much foreign influence. The winged lions, which they include, are entirely absent from the Watsch *situla*, unless, indeed, certain birds which appear on the backs of other animals, are to be taken as metamorphosed wings. The helmets of the Certosan soldiers also shew a Greek type[2] which is hardly represented at Watsch. Both *situlae*, however, shew far more traces of Greek and "oriental" influence than Dr v. Hochstetter seems to admit. Nothing else has been found at Watsch and St Margarethen that can at all compete in interest with this relic, but there are some other objects worthy of notice. Among these are some *fibulae* in which the brooch part is hollowed round like a canoe with high-peaked ends, and one which is best described by Hochstetter as 'leierförmig'. The *Kahnfibeln* are of course fairly common, having been found at Hallstatt and several sites in Bavaria and Austria e.g. in the Ober Gailthal (see Meyer's *Gurina*, Dresden, 1885, p. 17, Plate v). They belong to the later Hallstatt period. The bronze helmets are also very curious, most being of the flat-brimmed type. One of these, with a double ridge across the top, can be paralleled from Olympia and Hallstatt, and, according to Helbig, represents what Homer meant by the *ἀμφίφαλος κυνέη*.

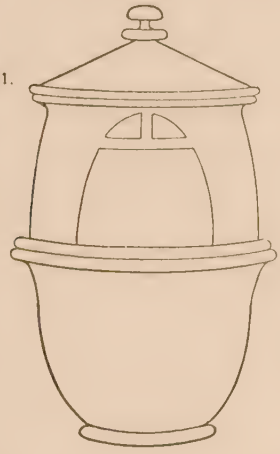
(3) Among the Roman antiquities, the most important are

[1] Described by Zannoni (Bologna, 1879).

[2] Similar helmets at Este, *Notizie degli Scavi* 1888 Tav. xi.

those recently discovered at Dernovo, the probable site of Neviodunum, a Roman station between Emona and Siscia (*Itin. Ant.* 259. 14 Wess.). These have been described by Dr Deschmann (*Mitth. der Central-Comm.* xii. 17—36), and include burial urns and other pottery, paintings, *instrumenta*, and coins dating down to Gratian. One type of urn is very remarkable, for it resembles the prehistoric type of 'House-urns' found in north Germany and Italy. The Dernovo urns of this class are

Fig.1.



Opening on the other side of Fig.1.

Fig.2.

of a middling size, barrel-shaped, with a lid, but without handles, wheel-made and well finished. Round the middle runs a ring, and in the upper of the two sections thus made are various slits and square openings which give the resemblance to the 'House-urns'. The work is mostly in white and red, sometimes with plain color ornament; one of the urns has a bird to adorn the lid. Dr Deschmann (*l. c.* p. 29) calls the work Christian, but there seems little evidence to prove this. He omits the resemblance to the House-urns. This feature, however, is interesting, for some additional light is thus thrown on the character of the Roman occupation. It is natural to suppose that the type is a survival—though 'House-urns' have not been found in Krain—and such survivals would scarcely exist, had the occupation been thorough. As a matter of fact, we have

other evidence to shew that Pannonia was never fully Romanized. It may be added that one urn, with a square opening and two small ones above it, is not unlike the typical Slavonic house. If the similarity were a real one, we should have some evidence of the date of these curious remains. Unfortunately the windows appear in the prehistoric House-urns of both Italy and Germany (see e.g. *Arch.* xlii. 108). Of course the whole similarity may be a coincidence, just as an urn figured in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1838 ii. 612) has nothing to do with real Face Urns. But these survivals are often very curious (cf. *Acad.* 1884. 301). It does not appear that inscriptions have been discovered at Dernovo, but two burial urns are inscribed MIHI CARA CLAVDIAM and FILIAM CLAVDIAM.

The Roman inscriptions of Krain have been published in the *Corpus*, *Ephemeris* (ii. 408, iv. 135) and the *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen* (vi. 94, viii. 90, ix. 141, xi. 177). Those known in 1879 have been collected into one place in Müllner's *Emona*, a book of considerable learning, but containing some uncritical theories. The worst of these is an attempt to prove that Emona was situated not at Laibach, but at Igg some miles south. All through Dr Müllner's arguments for this view it is evident that 'the wish was father to the thought'. The latest epigraphic discovery is a mile-stone from Reichenburg, which is interesting as belonging to Maximinus and lying on the line of his march into Italy in A.D. 238. It runs as follows, according to Dr Deschmann's reading:

P · CAES · G · IVLIVS
AXIMINVS · PIVS FEL
IMVS · AVG · PONTIFEX
TRIBVNI · POTES · CO ·
S · IMP · BIS · T . G . IVLIVS
IMVS · NOBILISSMS
STIS · DOMNI · INV ·
GARMA · MAX · A · CE(leia)
M · P · XXXV ·

Another recently discovered inscription (*Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* xi. 77) shews that there existed at Laibach a *collegium navicul-*

ariorum, for the river traffic to which the town owed much of its importance.

2. Agram.

In passing from Laibach to Agram, one exchanges Austria for Hungary, which is a fact of some archaeological importance. The Vienna government does a good deal to aid research and excavation, that of Pesth does little, except in connexion with the Pesth museum. Nevertheless, Agram contains an interesting museum, well housed in the buildings of the South Slavonic Academy. Like this Academy, it owes its origin to the liberality of large-hearted men like Bishop Strossmayer, who desire to raise the intelligence of the Slaves in Croatia. The collections include (1) a large number of MSS, mostly relating to the history of the southern Slaves, (2) a room of Egyptian antiquities, (3) some prehistoric remains of the stone and bronze ages, of which a description has been published by the Director of the Museum, Dr Ljubić, in the archaeological *Viestnik* (vol. ii.), and (4) the Roman antiquities which are the most important. They have been collected both from Croatia, especially from Siscia and Sirmium, and also from Dalmatia. A short sketch of some of the contents, including the sculptured stones, is given by two Austrian scholars in the *Arch.-Epigr. Mittheilungen* iii. 164—174; and the inscriptions have been published in the Epigraphic journals. One may add that the late Christian inscription of Aurelia (*Arch.-Epigr. Mitth.* iv. 101), formerly at Djakovo, is now at Agram, and that on an altar from Siscia (no. 471 in *Eph. Epigr.* iv. p. 138) B not B should be read in the third line. The other remains, beside sculpture and inscriptions, are considerable. Most come from Siscia—among these, a large number of bronze pots and an earthenware bowl with a flat sunk top which is perforated. There is great abundance of lamps.

3. Sissek.

The site of the ancient Siscia need not be described here. That has been admirably done in Mr A. J. Evans' *Through*

Bosnia (pp. 66 foll.). The remains which he saw there have partly been removed—some to Agram by the local antiquarian society. One thing Mr Evans seems not to have seen, the remains of arches under the 'Rimska Pivnica' (Roman cellar) near the station, which *may* be Roman work *in situ*. Some inscriptions were said to exist among it, but they were not visible.

4. Mitrovica on the Save (Sirmium).

Mitrovica is a large village on the north bank of the Save, situated in a perfectly flat and fertile plain, which was once marsh but was drained by the Romans. About 10 miles to the north rises the Fruskagora, a range of hills scarcely 1700 feet high and best known perhaps because the Carlowitz vineyards lie on its slopes. It is difficult to see the importance of the site. It has no natural strength and is not situated at any very advantageous point of the river. Before the marshes were drained, it must have been unhealthy, and even at this day the neighbourhood of the hills, it is said, causes visitors to be liable to sudden chills, though on the whole the place is free from illnesses. One is inclined to think that when the Romans occupied Sirmium somewhere about 10 B.C., they must have been attracted rather by the natural strength of a fortress among marshes than by geographical or commercial considerations. There can be little doubt that—marshes or not—the garrison of Sirmium was at first intended to overawe the Breuci and maintain communications with Moesia, and, if the mount 'Alma' of Dio 55. 30 be the Fruskagora, we can see an additional reason for the occupation of Sirmium. Later, when the Roman frontier had been carried to or beyond the Danube, when Probus had "planted" the ancestors of the Carlowitz vines and the quarries of the Fruskagora had been discovered, Sirmium, like Siscia and Emona, lost her military character, and became one of the most important cities of the later Empire.

The site of the ancient city is the same as, not near, as Dr Hodgkin says[1], the site of the modern village, which abounds

[1] *Italy and her Invaders*, iii. 137.

with remains both *in situ* and embedded in later buildings. The most important of the former class are the subterranean aqueduct which apparently brought fresh water from the Fruskagora to the city, and two Christian cemeteries, both outside the present town. A little to the E. lies a cemetery with two churches or chapels dedicated to S. Anastasia and S. Demetrius[1], the former a victim of Diocletian about 290 A.D. (Rački *Historia Croatica*, pp. 295, 309 *n.*). One of the churches had a serpentine floor, and a good many graves were discovered. On the other side of the town was a *Basilica ad beatum Synnerotem*[2], another martyr of about 300 A.D., which was also surrounded by graves. I was shewn the supposed traces of a third basilica in the ice-cellar of Gosp. Gamiršek, but an ice-cellar is not an easy place to search in, and all I could see was the fragment of an inscription, with two large letters ER, though the owner of the cellar was eager to let me see all I could. A good many other foundations have been discovered, including some baths, but a more thorough search would undoubtedly bring a great deal more to light. The veteran Pavle Miler, the Roman Catholic priest, to whose kindness I owe most of my acquaintance with the place, is very energetic in collecting remains, most of which are sent to Agram, but no systematic excavations seem to have been undertaken, beyond the cemeteries above-mentioned. Of Roman materials used for later buildings there is no end. In the 'Restaurant', of which the ice-cellar alluded to forms part, there are two inscriptions and several pieces of sculpture, one an Eros. One of the inscriptions has not been copied, but it is too mutilated to be of value. It runs (or seems to run) ...VA| ...STI| ...K... ...S|..H I . S. The town possesses no museum, but several inscriptions, pieces of sculpture and sarcophagi, are kept in the two small public gardens. One sarcophagus has a fine top with two lions; indeed the lion seems to have been a favorite object for sculpture at Sirmium as in some Dacian towns.

[1] Hence the name 'Demitri-vica'.

[2] Comp. *Arch.-Epigr. Mitth.* ix. 138 and *Viestnik* viii. 105.

5. Belgrade (Singidunum).

The military importance of the citadel of Belgrade cannot be and never has been overlooked. Situated on a steep promontory which runs out into the confluence of Save and Danube, and separated from the only neighbouring hills, those to the south, by a slight dip, it is capable of being made even now into a strong fortress. Its geographical importance is equal to its strength, for it is one of the Keys of the East. The old *Heerstrasse* from Constantinople to the west passed through it, and the railway starts eastward from it. It retains, as is unfortunately natural, no vestiges of Roman occupation *in situ*[1]: there is, indeed, scarcely a trace of the Turks beyond two small and ruined mosques. Nor have the discoveries made on the site proved very extensive. The museum is lodged in the school buildings which face the Great Market place, but it can hardly be said to have a suitable habitation. Some rooms on the first floor contain the smaller Roman remains, while most of the inscriptions, both Roman and Slavonic, are penned up in an archway, and I only got at them by the aid of his Excellency Chedomille Mijatovic. Among the remains upstairs are several large round metal dishes from the silver mines of Rudnik, marked variously SIMPLICI, SIM, SI, and EPONE. A rough tile, found in the Great Market place, has the inscription FIGLINAS SINGIDVNENSIVM, which is interesting because it gives the full name. The most striking of the other objects was a hollow bust, in bronze, of a man's head, nearly life size.

Of the inscriptions several seem not to have been published before, but, as Prof. Domaszewski has already copied them for the new part of C. I. L. iii., it is needless to print them here. I may perhaps suggest that in the Kostolac inscription of Alcimus, the MVN · AVR may possibly be connected with the *Municipium Aurelium* which Mr A. J. Evans places among the Splonistae (*Antiquarian researches in Illyricum*, ii. p. 45).

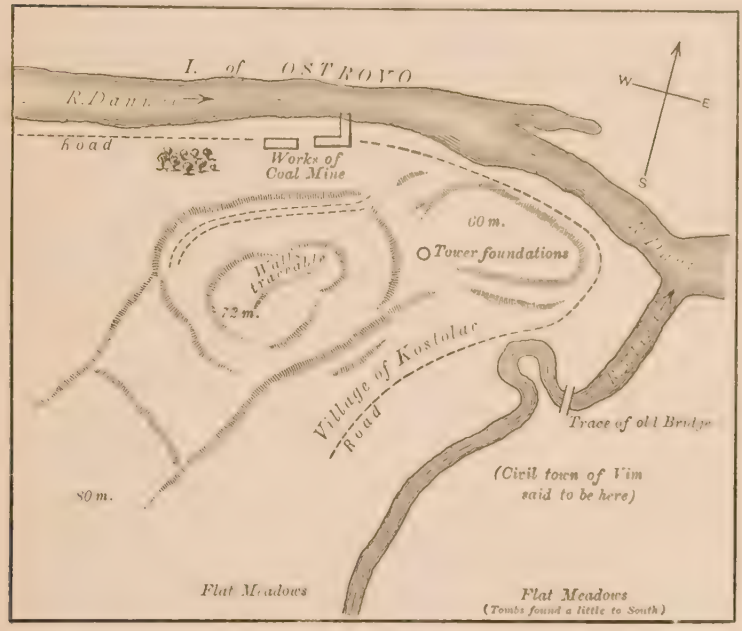
Minor corrections are: C. I. L. iii. 6302 l. 4 X//X (not XXX); 6304. 2 VESTR; 6297. 9 SOCER; *ib.* 10 B·M·P· are erased; 1649. 5 FL.

[1] The castle well is of later date, though there may have been a Roman well before the present one.

6. Kostolac (Viminacium).

The valley of the Morava or Margus has from time immemorial formed part of the trade route between the Danube and the Aegean, and in itself it contains almost all the fertile lowland in Serbia. Viminacium serves to guard both valley and road. It is situated about seven miles east of the Morava, on the west bank of the Mlava. Between these two rivers

Sketch Map of Viminacium.
[The figs. denote the height in metres above the Danube.]



there runs nearly north and south a low range of hills, on the extreme of which, overhanging an arm of the Danube, was the fortress of which the foundations are still visible. One has only to stand on the top to see the importance of the spot[1]. From the hill, which rises about 230 feet above the river level,

[1] The plan of Kanitz is a little misleading (*Serbien* p. 413).

the whole plain of the Morava and Mlava lies open to view. To the north is the river, and beyond the Hungarian flats. One wonders at first sight why a site was chosen on an arm of the Danube, for at the present day the long low island of Ostrovo lies between the Kostolac channel and the main river. But this island, like that opposite the citadel of Belgrade, has been probably formed in modern times, and it is noteworthy that the Austrian frontier line passes through the southern arm. The modern village—wretched enough—lies between the Morava and the hill, while the meadow east of the river is said to cover the Roman civil town. It would be interesting to know whether the Romans worked the coal or rather lignite, which is now mined on the slope of the hill facing the Danube.

The site has never been properly explored. Formerly the peasants used to dig for bricks or stones, but this has been forbidden by the Government, and the finds are comparatively scanty. There are however some remains to be seen in the place. There is nothing perhaps *in situ* except the foundations of masonry which can be seen on the hill, but a good deal of Roman material has been worked up into the modern cottages. Thus the priest's house is floored with legionary tiles marked LEG·VII CL and pieces of sculpture are built into the walls.

The inscriptions of Viminacium have been collected in the *Corpus*, the *Ephemeris* (ii. 328, 335; iv. 78) and the *Arch.-Epigr. Mittheilungen* (vi. 129, 139; vii. 105, 188; viii. 178). These inscriptions, however, include a great many discovered at other places than Kostolac. At Semendria, for example, there are a number built into the medieval fortress, but Torma, who copied these (*Mitth.* vi. 128), puts all down to Viminacium, and has Mommsen's precedent for doing so. But it is highly improbable that they all came from Kostolac. Some, no doubt, did, such as those which survive in Požarevac and other neighbouring villages—many of them, if I was rightly informed, as yet uncopied. But the rest may have come from several places. A road ran from Singidunum to Kostolac and this road had stations. It is probable, too, that the river bank was guarded by forts. This is certainly the case with the opening of the Morava valley, though the books have not made the matter

quite plain. We can, however, trace three Roman sites west of Kostolac along the Danube bank. (1 Semendria, in the

western corner of the valley, is probably the Roman Vinceia. (2) A second site is Kulic, a small place on the west bank of the Morava (Margus) close to its confluence with the Danube, wrongly described by Mommsen as *in sinistra ripa Danuvii*. An inscription has been found here (C. I. L. iii. 1647) and the place may perhaps be the Margus of the Romans. (3 The third site is on the other, east, bank of the Morava, close to Dubravica, just where there formerly stood a large walnut wood. An inscription has been found here also (*Eph. Epigr.* iv. p. 78), and a walk over the ground was enough to shew me that a settlement must have existed there. Worked stone and brick abounds, in particular small hexagonal pieces, about 2½ in. each side and 3 in. thick, which must have belonged to some pavement. Mommsen (*Eph. l.c.*) following Ortvay places Margus here and Contra-Margum at Kubin on the N. shore of the Danube. But it is exceedingly doubtful if Roman remains have been found at Kubin (*Arch.-Epigr. Mitth.* iv. 175)[1], and it is more probable that the two places were at Kulic and Dubravica. From Dubravica to Kostolac is about five miles. The inscrip-

[1] Ormós *Alterthümer von Viminacium* (Temesvar 1878) also says that no Roman remains have been found in Kubin, though some fragments have been taken thither from elsewhere (pp. 4—9).

tions which various scholars have ascribed to Viminacium may, I think, as easily belong to any of these places as to Viminacium itself.

But, while these sites are fairly unmistakable, it is not very easy to fit the Roman names to them. When Priscus (140. 15 ed. Bekker) speaks of *πόλεις καὶ φρούρια πλεῖστα ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ*, he agrees with what has been said. But when he goes on (167. 22) with the sentence *Μάργος πόλις πρὸς τῷ Ἴστρῳ κειμένη ἄντικρυ Κωνσταντίας φρουρίου κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν ὀχθὴν διακειμένου*, he is less easy to follow. Margus must be at the mouth of the Morava, and 'Constantia', which is otherwise unknown, may be a fourth century fort on the north bank of the Danube, not now to be identified. The Notitia presents equal difficulties. The *castra Augustoflavianensia contra Margum* (Or. xli. 33, ed. Seeck) was identified by D'Anville with Constantia, but Priscus clearly describes the latter as across the Danube—and it should be remembered that he knew the country—, while the Notitia includes the *castra* in Moesia. It is therefore better to put the *c. contra Margum* on the opposite bank of the Morava, and south of the Danube.

Inscriptions:

(1) A stone sarcophagus, length 50 in., height 25: at each end figures. Preserved at the house of Engineer Sistek, the coal superintendent.

D · M ·
AVRELIAE · THEODOTE
RARISSIMAE · FEMINE ·
QVAE·VIXIT·ANNIS·XXXI·M·IIII
DIES · XVII · AVR · GALLICVS
CONIVGI·BENE·DE·SE·MERITAE

(2) Marble, 19½ in. high, 16 broad. Walled into the gateway of the Engineer's house.

DIANAE ·
M · LAELVS ·
MAXIMV////
LEG · LEG ·
VII · CL ·
P · F ·

(3) Stone, 46 in. high, 19¾ in. broad, built on one side into the foundation of a peasant's house, well cut.

D · M ·
P · AEL · ANTIO
CHVS · VETER ·
LEG · VIĪ · CL · V · A
LX · ET · P · AELIVS
DONATVS · AL(u)M
NVS · EIUS · V · A · VII
R · AEL · AGATAN
GELVS · ET · P · AEL ·
PRIMITIVOS · LIB ·
ET · HEREDES ·
F · C ·

7. Rama (Lederata).

Rama is a small village on the Danube nearly opposite Bazias, situated just where the hills begin west of the Morava valley. The spur of hill just above the houses is occupied by a medieval fort, of the same date as that at Semendria. Two inscriptions are built into the walls, and one is cut below it in the living rock. Otherwise there are no marks of Roman occupation, except the coins which the natives offer for sale. Those I saw ranged from about A.D. 200 to A.D. 380, including, of course, Probus and Constantine II. It seems, however, that the Roman station was not on the site of the present fort but on the downs above. According to one writer (L. Böhm in *Mitth. der k.k. Central-Comm.* viii. p. cxvii) it is possible, when the Danube is low, to trace about ¼ of an hour below Rama the remains of the bridge which Trajan built here for his first invasion of Dacia. Two minor corrections can be made in the Inscriptions. C. I. L. iii. 1643 is given correctly in *Arch.-Epigr. Mitth.* vi. 127, but there is no S visible in l. 3. The same is the case with 1644 except that the third line is VIXIT A not AX. The size of the latter, which the Austrian scholar did not take, is 21 in. long by 9½ high. I was also told a curious story of an

inscription supposed to exist in the fort, but jealously concealed from the eyes of visitors lest they should steal it. An equally invisible stone is located in the church. I may add, for future travellers, that Rama is best reached from Bazias by a rowing-boat—an awkward journey with a high wind upstream—and that I was much helped by a pass which M. Ristic gave me.

Exactly opposite Rama is the Hungarian village of Uj-Palanka (Neu-Pal.), with a semi-detached island called Grad ("fortress") or Sapajà, where masonry and bricks still are to be seen and considerable Roman remains used to be found. I could secure only a coin of Trajan and a brick marked ⊤, but others have been more fortunate. Fragments of a white marble statue, bronze objects, urns, &c., have been discovered and various tiles inscribed LEG · VII · C · P · F ·, COH II HISP, and AL · II P(annoniorum). This is interesting because the Legio VII Cl. belonged to Moesia, in particular to Viminacium, and the island therefore must at some time have belonged to Moesia. The COH II HISP is however Dacian (C. I. L. iii. 843).

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I. 8. 3 *uir facundus et pacis artibus, bellis inexpertus.*

Various attempts have been made to explain *pacis artibus* as an ablative of quality, but no precise parallel has as yet been adduced to justify the absence of a qualifying adjective. Is the true reading *uir fecundus pacis artibus, bellis inexpertus*? In support of this reading the following considerations may be urged. (1) The chiasmus produced by this arrangement of the words greatly increases the antithetical force of the sentence by strongly contrasting *pacis artes* and *bella*: (2) *facundus* is a common corruption for *fecundus*. Among other instances which I have noticed may be cited Tac. Hist. I. 51 *fecunda rumoribus*, where M has *facunda*, Macrobius I. 11. 23 *fecundum bonae inuentionis ingenium*, where Jahn with the oldest MSS (10th cent.) reads *facundum*, and gloss. Hild. *facunda, fertilis.*

The corruption seems to have arisen from a reading *fecundus*, i.e. *fecundus* corrected to *faecundus*. The doubt as to the spelling of the word is as old as Varro (cf. Gellius XVI. 12 and Nonius 53). The *et* may well have been inserted after the corruption, in order to get a construction, or may represent a correction *facundus*, the *e* superscribed being inserted, as often, in the wrong place of the text.

I. 10. 5 *in secretum Asiae sepositus.*

Sepositus is an emendation of Acidalius for the MSS *repositus*. *Sepositus* however seems scarcely satisfactory as Tacitus appears always to use *sepono* of compulsory retirement at the orders of the emperor, while Otho's withdrawal was purely voluntary. May not *repositus* be retained in the sense of "withdrawing to a distance"? So Vergil twice uses *repostae* meaning "far-withdrawn." Cf. Aen. III. 364, and VI. 59.

I. 31. 1 *Dilapsis speculatoribus cetera cohors non aspernata contionantem, ut turbidis rebus evenit, forte magis et nullo adhuc consilio rapit signa quam quod postea creditum est insidiis et simulatione.*

Rapit signa is a suggestion of Meiser's accepted by Halm and Heraeus. Med. has *par signas*, other MSS *parat signa*. Heraeus explains *rapit* as *raptim capit* or "flies to the standards." But it may be asked would not the body-guard be already "sub signis," and would not "*rapit signa*" naturally mean "hurries off with the standards," whereas the sense obviously required by the context is "remains true to the standards"? I would rather suggest "*paret signis*," supposing *par signas* to have arisen from a combination of the two readings *paret signis* and *parat signa*, the original of M having paret^{at} signis^{a}, *i.e. paret signis* corrected to *parat signa*. So II. 70. 7 the variae lectiones *rosaque* and *rosisque* have produced *rosasque* in the Medicean.

I. 51. 16 *adversum Galbianos: hoc enim nomen fastidito Vindice indiderant (Galliae).*

No editor appears to give any exact account of the precise application of *Galbiani* as a term of contempt. Is it not to be explained from Suetonius, Galba 3, *praepinguis quem Galli galbam vocant*? It should be noted that it is *the Gauls* who are responsible for the nickname. Translate "potbellians," and compare "Round-heads."

I. 71. 9 *nec Otho quasi ignosceret, sed ne hostem metueret, conciliationes adhibens, statim inter intimos amicos habuit.*

The Medicean fails from 69. 2 to 75. 10.

The two MSS quoted by Orelli (a, b), and a British Museum MS (e), have *ne hostes metueret conciliationis* (*consiliationis* b, e) *adhibens*; the Harleian, also in the British Museum, reads *ne hostis metum quasi reconciliationis adhiberet metueret* (*sic*). Meiser conjectures *consiliatorem adhibens*. Is it not more probable that *conciliationis adhibens* (a, b, e), *quasi reconciliationis adhiberet* (H) are marginal glosses, which have found their way into the text, the original running *ne hostem metueret statim inter intimos amicos habuit*? The omission of these words seems to produce

a very Tacitean antithesis, "That he might not have to fear him as an enemy, he treated him at once as a bosom friend." Marginal glosses are very frequent in the Histories, especially in the 15th cent. MSS, and it must be remembered that Med. fails here. The variations in the readings too seem to point to a gloss. A similar instance occurs II. 100. 19, *an quod euenit inter malos, ut et similes sint*, where editors agree in bracketing the last four words.

II. 23. 20 *Annium Gallum et Suetonium Paulinum et Marium Celsum (nam eos quoque Otho praefecerat).*

Eos quoque seems incapable of a satisfactory explanation. Is *quoque* a corruption of *duces*? *Duces* is the word naturally required by the sense, and only three lines above Freinsheim has restored *ducum* for *quocum*. An exact parallel to the construction occurs I. 10. 12 *Flauius Vespasianus (ducem eum Nero delegerat).*

III. 13. 19 *Id Basso id Caecinae uisum, postquam domos hortos opes principi abstulerint, etiam auferre militem.*

This is Halm's reading. Heraeus suggests *etiam militem principi militibus principem auferre*, the MSS have *etiam militibus principem auferre litem.* I would propose *etiam militibus principem auferre licere.* This is nearer the MSS than either Halm's or Heraeus' suggestion, and gives perhaps a still better sense. The idea of the passage seems to be this. Bassus and Caecina have been allowed to rob Vitellius of his most valuable possessions, and now they fancy they will be allowed to rob the soldiers of their best possession, their Emperor, but they will find the soldiers much more difficult to deal with.

III. 34. 1 *Hic exitus Cremonae anno ducentesimo octogesimo sexto a primordio sui.*

For *Cremonae* the MSS give *Cremonam.*

The whole of the preceding chapter is closely modelled on Vergil. *In uacuas domos et inania templa* is a reminiscence of Aen. VI. 269 *Perque domos Ditis uacuas et inania regna, grauia auro dona* of Aen. III. 464 *Dona dehinc auro grauia*, while *in ignes considerent*, compared with Aen. II. 624 *Tum uero omne mihi uisum considere in ignis Ilium*, suggests that Tacitus had in mind the story of the sack of Troy-town. *Hic exitus* again

recalls the words which Vergil uses to sum up the closing scene of Priam's destiny, *Hic exitus illum Sorte tulit.* Should we read *Hic exitus Cremonam anno ducentesimo octogesimo sexto a primordio sui tulit?* The change is a slight one, as *tulit* might easily drop out after the preceding *sui.*

III. 39. 3 *notabili gaudio.* So Halm and Heraeus for the *nobili gaudio* of the MSS. It seems however that the change is unnecessary since *nobilis* is often used with a bad connotation in the same sense as *famosus.* So Nonius, 351. 19, glosses *nobilis* as *notus,* quoting *inter alia* Ter. Haut. 227 (II. 1. 15) *mea est...nobilis* and Lucil. VII. 11 *Phryne nobilis illa.*

IV. 14. 8 *compositae seditionis auctores perpulere ut delectum abnuerent.*

Compositae is a correction for the MSS *compositi.* It seems however much more probable that *compositi* should be corrupted to *compositae* than *vice versa.* Is *compositi* a mistake for *composito? i* and *o* are often confused in cursive MSS, and Tacitus may well have used *composito* in the sense of *ex pacto,* as Vergil does Aen. II. 129, where Servius gives this explanation of the word.

33. 20 *fortissimus quisque e Batauis, quantum peditum erat conciduntur.*

So Halm, Heraeus retains *funduntur* with the MSS. *Funduntur* may possibly be supported on the authority of Verg. Aen. IX. 722 *Pandarus ut fuso germanum corpore uidit,* and XI. 102 *ferro quae fusa iacebant Corpora,* though in these passages the construction is helped by the addition of *corpore* and *corpora.* If any change is necessary I would suggest *circumfunduntur.* This makes a very good contrast with *eques euasit* immediately following, and is supported by *circumiri,* 34. 3.

39. 14 *Scribonianum Crassum egregiis moribus et fraterna imagine fulgentem.*

Both Halm and Heraeus adopt *moribus* for the *maioribus* of the MSS, an apparently unnecessary alteration. The *egregii maiores* referred to are Pompey and Crassus. So I. 15. 3 Galba speaks of Piso, younger brother of Scribonianus, the *frater* whose imago is mentioned here, as *Gn. Pompei et M. Crassi suboles.*

66. 15 *Ciuilis Baetasios quoque copiis suis adiunxit ingens rerum perculsis ciuitatum animis uel sponte inclinantibus.*

So the MSS: *ingens uirium, ingens rerum fiducia*, and *ingens rerum columen* have been suggested. I would prefer *ingens rerum momentum. Rerum momentum* is a favourite phrase with Livy and Lucan, and gives a perfectly satisfactory sense, being naturally explained by the following words, *perculsis ciuitatum animis uel sponte inclinantibus.*

v. 4. 13 *alii (ferunt) honorem eum Saturno haberi: seu principia religionis tradentibus Idaeis, quos cum Saturno pulsos et conditores gentis accepimus, seu quod de septem sideribus, quis mortales reguntur, altissimo orbe et praecipua potentia stella Saturni feratur; ac pleraque caelestium uim suam et cursus septenos per numeros compleant.*

So Halm, the MSS have *septimos p. n. commeauerent; commeent* and *conficiant* have also been suggested. Heraeus reads *uiam suam et cursum septenos per numeros commeare*, making the clause depend on *ferunt*. This however can hardly be right, as it is beyond all doubt that celestial bodies do move in multiples of seven, and Tacitus would not be likely to mention this as a mere theory introduced by *ferunt*. In fact the whole of the last clause, from *ac* to *compleant*, seems out of place here, as it gives the reason why it is the 7th day which is kept holy, not why the compliment is paid to Saturn in particular. Is it not probable that the whole of the clause is a marginal gloss on the previous sentence, *septimo die otium placuisse ferunt quia is finem laborum tulerit*, which has been introduced into the text in the wrong place?

ib. 23 *Ciuilem cupido incessit naualem aciem ostentandi.*

The Medicean reads *ciuilem cupido inuasi incessit*, &c., which Editors generally explain as though the scribe had begun to write *inuasit* for *incessit*. Is not *inuasi* simply a copyist's error for *inanis*? *Inanis cupido* or *cupiditas* is a common Latin phrase, and the desire to hold the review in question is attributed in the same chapter to *insita genti uanitas.*

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THE MERTON CODEX OF CICERO.

THIS codex has been carefully described, in its general features, by Mr J. B. Mayor, who received valuable aid from Mr E. Maunde Thompson. The description will be found in Vol. XII of this Journal, and it has been reprinted in Vol. III of Mr Mayor's edition of the *De Natura Deorum*, pp. xliv—li. Mr Mayor gives also a complete collation of the readings of the codex in the *De Natura Deorum*. As we have in England no MS of Cicero's philosophical works which is of superior or even of equal importance, some further information about it may be of interest. By the kindness of the authorities of Merton College I have had it in my hands for some time, and have examined very closely its readings for the portion of the *De Diuinatione* which it contains, viz. Book I §§ 1—106, ending with the words *duros ulta labores*. In the notes I am about to give I shall restrict myself to this portion of the MS., which is treated by the scribe as a IVth book of the *De Nat. Deorum*. With respect to the remainder I only wish to make two remarks: (1) that the pages on which the *De Officiis* is written are not divided into columns, as might appear from Mr Mayor's description; (2) that the text of that portion of the *Philippics* which is included in the codex belongs to the family designated by Halm (in Orelli, ed. 2) as D, and is a good representative of that family.

In what I have to say about the *De Diuinatione* I shall follow the example of many recent collators of Ciceronian MSS., and shall use Orelli's second edition of the philosophical works as the standard for reference, indicating the different passages by the pages and lines of that edition. The recension of the

De Diuinatione there is by W. Christ, and it will be convenient to retain his denotation of the four principal MSS on which his text is founded, viz. ABHV, the first three of these being at Leyden, and the fourth at Vienna. The consensus of these four MSS he describes by C. The first hand of the MSS is indicated by the figure 1 over the letter; thus A^2 means a hand later than A^1, but not necessarily the same hand all through, since the information accessible about the MSS is often insufficient to enable us to distinguish the hands of different correctors. I shall describe the Merton MS by the symbol M^n. C. F. W. Müller, in the most recent Teubner text of Cicero, uses merely the critical apparatus of Christ. But in an Aurich program of 1885, Deiter has corrected and supplemented the collations of AB, about which we now have practically complete information. A new collation of H would be useful, but it is the least important MS of the four. On the other hand the evidence of V is of great consequence for several of the philosophical writings and it is at present not fully accessible. The collation of V by Schenkl is not so minute as those of AB by Baiter and Halm, which were used by Christ, although so far as it goes it is probably as correct.

The scribe of M^n was a thoroughly mechanical and conscientious labourer, copying closely what he saw or thought he saw before him. He was in all probability ignorant, or nearly so, of Latin, knowing the look of it perhaps from practice in transcribing, much as a modern compositor who sets up Classical texts gets to know the look of the ancient languages. Our scribe seems to have gone carefully over what he wrote, comparing it with the original that lay before him, and correcting on the spot such errors as he detected. The corrections were very rarely made by erasure, nor were they often written on the margin; but superfluous letters were dotted underneath, and missing letters were placed over the line. Letters wrongly written were altered to the right form where only a slight change of shape was needed; in other cases the wrong letter was dotted underneath and the right one written over. Some further corrections have been made in a hand of a much later date; probably two centuries later. The errors which the

scribe of M^n left in the text are nearly exhausted by the following classification; (1) wrong expansions of contractions, which were misread; (2) rare words turned into ordinary words, usually without regard to the context; (3) omissions, sometimes due to the occurrence of similar or identical words at a little distance from each other, causing the loss of the words in between; but far more frequently omissions of some small word, a pronoun or a particle or a monosyllable of other character, which, if written by the scribe, would have been denoted by some single letter with a mark of contraction over it or beside it. Of the class of errors marked (1) a large proportion no doubt were already in the MS from which M^n was copied; of those marked (2) a considerable but smaller proportion; but the majority of the errors in the third class must no doubt be attributed to the scribe himself. In speaking of these three classes of blunders, I shall only mention instances which appear to be peculiar to M^n among known MSS. To take first the misunderstood contractions. M^n is distinguished among MSS of the same age by the persistency and general consistency of its contractions. But either the copyist of M^n or some of his predecessors expanded contractions which existed in MSS belonging to the line of ascent. Thus we have in 484, 16 *religione* for *religio est* because the writer saw before him *religio* $\bar{e}$ and took it to be *religiōe*, i.e. *religione*. At 489, 25 is found *ad* for *an* because in the ancestor of M^n both *ad* and *an* were indicated by *a* with a mark above, and so were easily confused. At 493, 13 $\dot{\bar{g}}$ (= *igitur*) is a wrong reading of $\dot{\bar{t}}$ (= *Tiberius*); and at 500, 11 we get *unum* for *uisum*, the contractions being nearly the same for both; similarly *uerbum* has taken the place of *uersus* in 506, 3. The error $\bar{c}$ (= *cum*) for $\bar{e}$ (= *est*), which occurs in 505, 6, is common in most Latin MSS of later date than the VIIIth or IXth cent. The mistake *recepit* for *reipublicae* in 506, 2 is also a specimen of a whole class. The abbreviations for *respublica* (*resp.* or *r. p.*), *populus Romanus* (*p. r.*), *praetor* (*pr.*), have given rise to many confusions. In this case *reipublicae* was written *reip.*, the *i* was misread *c*, and *recp.* would only differ from the contracted form of *recepit* by not having a transverse line across the top of the *p*. A like confusion has

given rise to *reponit* in 486, 4 for *recepit*, and as to the misreading of *i* as *c* compare *ñ* (= *nec*) written at 508, 20 for *ñ* (= *nisi*). A contraction which has caused many misapprehensions is a certain mark for *ur*, placed over the line, and not unlike a small *a*. This same mark is also often used to indicate the end of a sentence or clause. If a verb in the third person singular present indicative active is in such a position, it is easily turned into the passive form. This has happened at 490, 7 where M^n gives *sed terna ueritate dirigitur* (the dots are by a later hand and on the margin *tñ á* [= *tamen ad*] is written); while V^1 gives *tamen a ueritate saepissime dirigitur*, the right reading being *t. ad ueritatem saepissime dirigit* (ending a sentence). Some common ancestor of M^n and V^1 used the mark to denote the end of the sentence, which was read as *ur*; then since *ad* was written as *á* (or something of the kind), the change to *ueritate* was easy. [In this passage the word *terna* itself in M^n has come from the resemblance of *tñ a* (= *tamen a*) to a contracted writing of *terna*.] Farther on, I shall mention some other instances of misunderstood contractions. The odd lection *esse* for *curasse* in 497, 20 has a similar explanation. The curious readings *nepos* AV^1 and *ne post* M^nBV^2 or *ni post* H in 488, 19 are caused by the similarity of the contractions for *post* and for *prius*, the true lection being *ni prius*. The second of the three classes of errors given above I do not propose to illustrate at length. The following may serve as specimens: 484, 4 *ă uili* for *anili*; 496, 19 *uerum dicent* for *uerruncent*; 509, 30 *diuitiarum* for *Diuitiacum*; 505, 17 *simulachris* for *repagulis*. The production of some of the variants of this kind was no doubt assisted by the misunderstanding of contractions; notably the last of the instances just quoted.

The omissions peculiar to M^n, other than those of single words (which number about 28), are: 488, 5, the whole line; 490, 1 and 2 from *aut num* to *exercitu* (inclusive); 507, 27 *ex quo* to *uirgines*; 512, 4 and 5 *disputat* to *nihil*; 513, 33 and 34 *quem* to *Pisidam*;—not a formidable list. I may here note that the special vice of the later MSS, the inversion of the proper order of the words, is almost entirely absent from M^n. In the portion of which I am now speaking, there are only eight in-

stances, all trivial, and affecting two words only in each case. Of words wrongly inserted there are very few traces indeed.

The mistakes of M^n to which reference has not been made above are neither numerous nor serious. I can only here mention the following readings specially: 494, 25 *artubus at tua limen* (an odd variant); 486, 8 *fluctus* for *uoces*, and 9, *cruoris* in place of *cietis*; 492, 12 *discisam* (but this may be the right reading); 495, 18 *exorando* for *ex oraclo*, from which *exorādo* would be hardly distinguishable; 497, 29 *testa* instead of *tecta* (strange, but affords no real support to Orelli's conjecture *tesca*); 506, 13 *denuntiata* (possibly right; H has *ne nuntiata*, ABV *re nuntiata*); 508, 22 *bouis* for *bonis* (also possible).

Before speaking of the relation of M^n to ABHV I will mention the leading features of its orthography. Herein it is not markedly inferior to AB, and probably not at all inferior to VH, but about these the existing information is insufficient. In M^n the letters are not often misused; for instance *c* for *t* is very rare. *Haut* (*haud*) occurs once; *capud* is written for *caput* all through. The letter *i* is substituted for *y* except in three or four places; two of the examples are in the word *hystoria*, which is however once spelt rightly. *Ph* gives place nearly always to *f*, but *philosophi* (or rather *ph'i*) is constant. *Th* is hardly used, excepting several times in *perhipatheticus* (such is the usual spelling). *Ch* rarely occurs except in *michi* (regular), and *nichil* (occasional). *H* is not often wrongly treated, but we have sometimes *hii* for *ii*, and once each *hisdem*, *hora* (*ora*), *humiferum* (*umiferum*), and usually *arioli*, *aruspices*. *Mpn* is always written for *mn*. The final consonant of prepositions is usually assimilated, where possible, to the initial consonant of the succeeding part of a compound; thus *afficio* not *adf.*, and even *ammonitus* (though *inmanis* appears twice); but not *optemperare* or the like. Incorrect duplication of consonants is not frequent, but we find *repperio* (often); *clammore*, *Possidonius*, *Affricanus*; on the other hand *apellare* (always), *opidum*, *querelas*, *Iupiter* (always). Spellings like *diuum*, *auulsa*, *persequuntur* are persistent. The double *i* is always written in *dii*, *diis*, and *hii*, *hiis* (for *ii*, *iis*) are occasionally presented; but *iidem* is given only once, and *iisdem* not at all, *idem*, *isdem* (once *hisdem*) maintain-

ing their ground. Genitives of nouns in *-ius* commonly end in *-ii*, but *Fabi*, *Enni* and one or two other such forms occur. So *reicio* not *reiicio*, and *obiciuntur*. *Ae* is almost invariably presented as *e*, sometimes with the mark beneath which in many MSS discriminates it from *e* proper, but oftener without. *Intelligere*, *negligere* are constant. *Is* is sometimes found both in the nom. and in the accus. plur. of nouns whose stems end in *-i*.

The resemblance of M^n to V lies on the surface, and is extraordinarily close, betraying itself in countless minutiae. In all the instances but one where Christ marks the reading of V as doubtful, the queried reading is also that of M^n, and is therefore almost certainly the real reading of V. The exception is at 503, 20 where Christ dubiously gives the lection of V as *aduenit et*, but M^n (and therefore probably V) has *aduenit* without *et*. Although in by far the larger number of instances where V is at variance with ABH, M^n agrees with V, yet the differences between M^n and V are sufficient to show that the former was not directly copied from the latter. I will give first the instances which need no comment, adding to the quotations the names of the MSS which agree with M^n against V. 482, 7 *planitiem* H; 483, 18 *reicit* H; 492, 13 *actio* H; 20 *consulibus* H; 31 *boetius* BH^1; 493, 12 *mulorum* H; 494, 21 *galeate* H; 35 *cognata* AB; 495, 6 *egro cum corde* BH; 14 *et sacrificabat* H; 15 *coniecturam* ABH; 500, 10 *dixisset* B; 500, 12 *pateretur* ABH; 14 *adesset* ABH; 33 *g. marium* ABH; 501, 4 *sibi* H; 18 *potu* ABH; 30 *deesse* H; 35 *aerem* H; 503, 11 *reperisti* H; 504, 2 *pharsalia* AH; 505, 2 *in sille* A; 3 *infirma* H; 11 *in tuba* A^2; 34 *molosorum* BH; 506, 31 *praxiteles* A; 507, 6 *retunsa* B; 11 *flexanima* A; 508, 10 *non est* H; 30 *alliciat* AB^2; 511, 24 *quid cum is* H; 30 *responderunt* ABH; 512, 12 *Veios* AB^2H; 513, 15 *periit* A^2H. Now follow some special examples of discordance between M^n and V. I put aside 483, 1 where V (though Schenkl is silent) no doubt reads *lucius*. At 506, 22 the three MSS ABM^n practically agree in *diuinitissimum*; V has *diuinissimum*, but the letters *ni* are written on an erasure, so the first reading of V was no doubt the same as that of M^n. So in 503, 6 *multo mulier meliorum* was probably the lection of V before erasure. At 490, 19 where M^n has *quo eius*, B *quoius*, A

cuius in ras. it is unlikely that V has *cuius*, though Schenkl is silent. In about 32 passages M^n agrees absolutely or very closely with V^2 against V^1. In all probability V was corrected by three hands, the hand of the original scribe and two others, and the different corrections are not carefully distinguished in Schenkl's collation. In eight of the places where M^n and V^2 agree against V^1 the differences are in trivial matters and need not be cited. The following examples may be noted (the letters after the quotations indicate the other MSS which agree with M^nV^2): 483, 24 *principibus* B^2 (but *principes* $A^1B^1HV^1$); 486, 10 *mire* without *uis* H^2 (but *in re uis* H^1V^1, *in riuis* B); 488, 4 *uetusto* (*uetuste* C); 13 *ciuili* B^2 (*ciuilem* H, *ciuile* AB^1V^1); 29 *populisque* B^2H (*populusque* AB^1V^1); 490, 34 *auspiciis* BH (*auspicis* AV^1); 494, 14 *idem* (in V ex corr.—*isdem* C); 496, 7 *res* (*rerum* H); 9 *sicut* (for *sicui*) H; 10 *accidant*; 497, 16 *statuissetque* (which Schenkl gives as the *corrected* reading of V, without specifying the hand); 501, 29 *affluenti* BH (*afluenti* AV^1); 502, 19 *qui deinde, qui deinceps*; 504, 27 *euentis* A^2 (*uentis* A^1BHV^1); 32 *trituales* AH (*rituales* BV^1—the attribution of *rituales* as well as *trituales* to V^2 by Schenkl is an evident error); 506, 19 *atque amnes* (*atque annes* V^2, *atque innes* A^1V^1); 513, 35 *aiebant* (Schenkl says "V ex correctione", V^1 having *agebant*); ib. *aut auspiciis* (before *praesensio* "V, m. 2 in marg." Schenkl). In 488, 15 M^nV^2 give the right reading *uel legum*, ABV^1 *uoltum legum* (but B in rasura), H *uultum legum*. The contractions for *uel* and *uoltus* are very much alike, and have in some MSS here been confused. At 494, 25 *excita* M^nV^2H, for *et cita* ABV^1, is caused by contracted writing of *et* and *ex*; so in 495, 14 M^nH give *et sacrificabat* for *exs.*; and M^nV have at 512, 11 *et fatis* for *ex f.*, while in 511, 4 V has *ex Athenienses* for *et*; similarly in 495, 20, where Cicero wrote *temperaret tollere*, M^n gives *tempora et tollere* but V^2 *tempora extollere*, and there are many other examples of *et* and *ex* confused. At 489, 16 M^nV^2 give *effingere* for *efficere*, and at 17 *effingi* for *effici*, because the scribes supposed that the *i* had over it the mark for *n*. In 498, 22 the *lëtabit* of M^n is nearer to the *locabit* of V^2 than to the *locauit* of AV^1; and at 510, 23 M^n omits *et satu* (with V), giving with V^2 *portentorum* for *tentorum* V^1 and *ostentorum* ABH.

If M^n was not copied from V before correction, neither was it copied from the corrected V. In about thirty passages M^n agrees with V^1 against V^2 either entirely or very closely. Simple instances are the following: 481, 5 *quaeque (sique* V ex correct., according to Schenkl); 16 *ut* omitted; 489, 19 *Enni*; ib. *lapidicinis*; 490, 13 *liciis*; 30 *solistimum*; 491, 19 *ut in omnia*; 493, 11 *fetus extitit*; 496, 21 *cursum* (***sum* V^1, *casum* V^2—the original of V^1 had no doubt *cursum* which had become partly illegible; *casum* was a guess); 498, 23 *ut* omitted; 500, 6, 8 and 13 *copone* (but *cauponem* in 17 with C); 505, 11 *in tuba* (*in tubae* A^1V^1); 509, 9 *classicum* (*classicim* V^1); 14 *factas* but *suscitant* (*suscitam* V^1); 512, 32 *iudicata*. More peculiar instances are the following. 482, 26 *procurandis in*, where V^1 has *procurandissin*, turned by V^2 into *procurandis sine*; the original reading of B no doubt agreed with M^nV^1, as there is an erasure of three letters after *procurandis*. 485, 30 *clamans nuntiat horribilis* may fairly be taken to be the right reading, for the note of transposition in H is no doubt m. 2, and B has the transposition on an erasure. In this case it seems that B and H were corrected from some MS which had the transposed order. (The *enuntiat* of AV is a slight error.) In 487, 2 *uel lubenter* practically agrees with ABV^1 (*ut l.*) if account be taken of the almost identity of the contractions for *uel* and *ut*. As to 490, 7 *terna ueritate dirigitur* I have spoken above. 490, 22 *secunda uenerint* is midway between *secunde uenerint* V^1 and *secunda euenerint* V^2 (the right reading). 490, 29 *aut tripudium* C, real reading *aui t.*; V^2 by a mere guess *hinc t.* 499, 10 *proxime* C (*proxume* V^1), but V^2 *maxime*; cf. 493, 3 where M^n has *maxime proxime*, the former word being dotted out. 509, 30 *dyuia desunt* is nearer V^1 than V^2.

As to the relations of M^n with the other three MSS, viz. ABH, the list of deviations from V which I have given above shows that where M^n parts from V it more often agrees with H than with AB in cases where H is at variance with AB. If we had a fuller collation of H, no doubt the number of instances of this accord would be increased. But at the same time M^n is a far better representation of the true text than H. In some instances where M^n disagrees with V and also with ABH it

approaches most closely to H; so 496, 19 *propinquam* (*propinqua* H); 32 *euoluens* (*uoluens* H); 498, 9 *auro cornelio consule*; 509, 1 *dubitabat* (*dubitabit* H).

As to B, its resemblance to M^n, where M^n differs from V, has in many instances been obscured by erasure or correction. Thus M^nB^1 give in 512, 11 *uegentes*, in 509, 33 *dicebant* (so H); while at 508, 14 M^n has *euentam*, B^1 *euentum*; at 512, 9 M^n has *uegenti*, B^1 *uegentē*, H *uergenti*. Again in 510, 19 M^n gives *extuorum*, B *extorum* but *orum* in ras., so that the original reading of B was probably *extuorum*. So 510, 21 M^n has *inuisitata*, B *iniusitata*, but the second *i* in ras. At 495, 2 where M^nB agree in *haec pater effatus*, the words *pater effatus* are over an erasure in B; probably, however, this was the mere correction of a slip, at the time of writing. One or two other instances of divergence between M^n and B caused by erasure in the latter have been given above. In one very remarkable case of agreement between M^n and H, viz. 494, 28 *uires uita meum corpus nunc*, the words *meum corpus* are in rasura in B.

The relation of M^n to A calls for little comment. In one instance where A is now at variance with M^n it was probably not so before A was corrected. This is at 499, 5, where M^n exhibits the curious reading *saepius suoque ascendit*, while HV give *sepius scendit*, and A *sepius ascendit*, but the *us* and the *as* are on an erasure; most likely therefore *suoque* (written with contractions) was at first on part of the space.

Of the five MSS, viz. ABVHM^n, A and V are those which best represent the traditional text of the times when *codices*, right or wrong, were stolidly and mechanically copied, though they are not unaffected by later corrections. In B this traditional text is overlaid by corrections to a considerable extent, in M^n to a greater degree, in H more still. So far as the *De Diuinatione* is concerned M^n must rank in value immediately after ABV. Where V is defective or corrected, it often has special importance as a guide to the original reading of V.

J. S. REID.

HORATIANA.

Carm. I 6.

That vv. 13—16 of this ode should be among the hundreds of lines which Peerlkamp reckons spurious is in itself a matter to disquiet no one. But that Meineke Haupt and Mueller should expel them at his bidding is a sign of more than usual cogency in his objections; and indeed the case against the verses as they stand is to my mind invincible. Horace says to Agrippa: 'Varius will record your victories, for he is a swan of Homer's strain: I could as soon write an Iliad, an Odyssey, an Orestea: conscious weakness forbids me to mar your deeds and Caesar's in the telling'. So far speaks a sane man; but now what Tisiphone impels him to subvert his own position by the following ejaculation? *Who is worthy to record the deeds of Mars Meriones and Diomed?* To a question cast in this form the only answer is *No one*: 'quis digne scripserit' in fact is simply the rhetorical equivalent for 'nemo digne scripserit'. But he said a moment ago that Varius was 'Maeonii carminis ales': well then, if Maeonides was worthy to record the deeds of Mars Meriones and Diomed, as he unquestionably was, so is Varius. In a poem designed to prove all living men unfit to sing Agrippa's praises this interrogation would have its place: in this poem which asserts Varius' fitness for that task and the unfitness merely of Horace it turns everything upside down. A blot of these dimensions dwarfs what would else be a noticeable fault, that having in vv. 5—8 declared himself unable to imitate the Iliad or the Odyssey he now harks back to say that the fifth book of the Iliad is inimitable.

If then the verses are cast out the ode is rid of grievous blemishes; but what did the supposed interpolator think he was

doing? My difficulty is not so much that Horace should have inserted the stanza as that anyone should have inserted it. We do little to explain such absurdity by shifting it from the shoulders of a poet whose name we know to those of a poet whose name is lost. For the four verses apart from their connexion are quite worthy of Horace, nay they are Horatian. Mr Lucian Mueller, while rejecting them, candidly points out that if Horace did not write them they were written by one almost his contemporary, for the rhythm 'digne scripserit aut' though common enough in his Asclepiads no longer finds entrance in Seneca's. And to my ear 'ope Palladis Tydiden superis parem' is at least a very happy imitation of Horace's manner.

This is one place among many where amputation has been hastily prescribed for an ailment which demands another remedy. Here surely is an ode foursquare and faultless:

scriberis Vario fortis et hostium
uictor Maeonii carminis alite,
qua rem cumque ferox nauibus aut equis
  miles te duce gesserit,
qui Martem tunica tectum adamantina
digne scripserit aut puluere Troico
nigrum Merionen aut ope Palladis
  Tydiden superis parem.
nos, Agrippa, neque haec dicere nec grauem
Pelidae stomachum cedere nescii
nec cursus duplicis per mare Vlixei
  nec saeuam Pelopis domum
conamur tenues grandia, dum pudor
inbellisque lyrae Musa potens uetat
laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas
  culpa deterere ingeni.
nos conuiuia, nos proelia uirginum
sectis in iuuenes unguibus acrium
cantamus uacui, siue quid urimur,
  non praeter solitum leues.

'Varius will record your deeds, worthy as he is to record the

deeds of Mars Meriones or Diomed: I cannot sing such themes, the wrath of Achilles, the voyage of Ulysses, the tale of Pelops' line: too weak am I and will not tarnish your name: light songs for me'. I point with some confidence to the way in which the 'scriberis' of v. 1 now responds to the 'scripserit' of v. 14, and the 'nos' of v. 5 to the 'nos' of v. 17. How the transposition happened is clear. When the copyist had written 'parem' v. 16, the next word to write was 'nos'; but his eye glanced from v. 5 to the same word in v. 17 and he proceeded to copy out vv. 17—20, so that vv. 5—12 were omitted: then on observing his error he added those eight verses at the end, marking them as out of order; but when in due time they came to be inserted they were inserted wrongly, not before v. 17 but before v. 13. The confusion of 'qui' and 'quis' is frequent, whether the next word begins with *s* or not: it occurs for instance without excuse in serm. I 6 30 and 79. It may be objected to an emendation, though it would not be noticed in a MS reading, that the relative ought to signify the nearer 'miles' not the remoter 'Vario'. This negligence however is quite common both in prose and verse: the lexicons under 'qui' cite flagrant examples from Cicero: from a poet take a passage whose argument is the argument of this ode: Prop. II 34 59 sqq. 'mi lubet hesternis posito languere corollis | quem tetigit iactu certus ad ossa deus; | Actia *Vergilio* custodis litora Phoebi | *Caesaris* et fortes dicere posse rates, | *qui* nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitat arma', i.e. Vergilius, not Caesar. Priscian, I ought perhaps to mention, found 'quis' in his Horace; but then he found also 'sterilisque diu palŭs aptaque remis' in ars 65.

Carm. I 12 33—40.

Romulum post hos prius an quietum
Pompili regnum memorem an superbos
Tarquini fasces dubito an Catonis
nobile letum.
Regulum et Scauros animaeque magnae
prodigum Paulum superante Poeno
gratus insigni referam camena
Fabriciumque.

No one requires of Horace that he should stick to the precise order of date, or cavils because Fabricius follows Paulus; but that Cato, in a muster-roll which else preserves chronological sequence in the main, should stand with the kings, apart from the republicans and before them, is a caprice not easy to defend against the strictures of Bentley. Further, even if Horace at years of discretion retained much admiration for the honest pedant who committed suicide at Vtica rather than live beneath any but an oligarchical government, still this is a poet of little prudence and less taste who under the rule and patronage of Augustus inscribes on his list of Roman worthies the man whose memory so angered Augustus himself and the dictator before him that each turned pamphleteer to blacken it. There is not only common reason to tell us so; there are Horace's own words, perfect for justice and fitness, carm. II 1 23 'cuncta terrarum subacta praeter atrocem animum Catonis', giving Cato the praise he gives Cleopatra, no more; there is the eloquent silence of all Augustan poetry beside. I say its silence, for no one would dream of finding the younger Cato in epist. I 19 14 or Verg. Aen. VIII 670 except for the words now on their trial. And what of Cato's does Horace here celebrate? his simple life? his honest purpose? no: his 'nobile letum', his preference of suicide to the rule of Caesar[1].

It is sought to save the text by contending that the presence of Tarquinius Superbus in this roll of worthies is as strange as Cato's. But this is not so: after Romulus the founder of the city Horace places side by side Numa foremost among its kings in the works of peace and Tarquin foremost in the works of war: 'uir iniustus, fortis ad arma tamen; ceperat hic alias, alias euerterat urbes'. By the precise balance grammatical and metrical of 'quietum | Pompili regnum' against 'superbos | Tarquini fasces' he tells his readers plain that they are to see in Tarquin not the tyrant but the victorious captain with his *fasces laureati* at the head of a people 'late regem *bello*que *superbum*'. Besides, if the contention that Tarquin has no

[1] Mr Keller quotes Sil. Punic. XII 585 sq. 'iam uos exemplo proauorum ad *nobile letum* | expectant de more senes': he might add with equal pertinence Luc. Phars. VII 595 'nondum ...meruit fatis tam *nobile letum*'.

business here is just, the natural inference will be that 'Tarquini' is corrupt, not that 'Catonis' is sound.

But I find yet another difficulty, which is not solved by Bentley's violent alteration 'anne Curti'. Horace doubts whether to tell of Romulus Numa Tarquin or another: then in the twinkling of an eye these worthies and his doubts are forgotten together and he is all at once resolved to celebrate Regulus the Scauri Paulus and Fabricius. If this strange abruptness is to be removed there is only one way: the two stanzas must be so united that 'referam' may be pres. subj. in dependence on 'dubito an'. The following correction, half of which is anticipated I find by Hamacher, cannot fairly be called a change of more than one letter:

an catenis,
nobile, laetum
Regulum et Scauros eqs.

The picture is that of carm. III 5, Regulus returning to captivity 'non aliter...quam si clientum longa negotia diiudicata lite relinqueret'. The apposition of the neuter adjective is familiar: epist. I 6 22 'indignum', epod. 5 87 'magnum', Verg. Aen. I 251 'infandum', VI 21 'miserum', XI 383 'solitum tibi', georg. II 30 'mirabile dictu', Ouid. met. III 106 'fide maius', VII 789 'mirum', IX 167 'foedum relatu': Munro pointed out to me as a curiously close parallel Ouid. am. I 6 1 'ianitor, *indignum*, dura religate *catena*'. *letum* is merely the archetype's way of spelling *laetum*: unless you follow it in carm. II 1 39 *Dioneo*, 15 17 *cespitem*, 20 15 *Getulas*, III 12 8 *Liparei*, 29 63 *Aegeos*, epod. 14 3 *Letheos*, serm. II 3 128 *cedere*, 8 71 and epist. II 1 189 *aulea*, neither need you follow it here. *catenis* for *catonis* is a change, but the slightest of changes: see the variants carm. III 4 16 *forenti* and *ferenti*, IV 4 66 *luctere* and *ductore*, serm. I 2 110 *pelli* and *tolli*, 4 126 *auidos* and *uides*, 5 78 *torret* and *terret*, II 6 95 *bone* and *bene*, ars 308 *deceat* and *doceat*. Hamacher as I said proposed a similar conjecture 'an catenis | nobilitatum Regulum': this of course is further from the MSS, and I doubt if Horace would approve the rhythm: his other examples are 'Fabriciumque', 'Mercuriusque', 'militiaeque', 'Bellerophontem',

substantives all four, and three of them proper names. But in v. 34 Hamacher's 'a c superbos' ought I think to be accepted: we shall thus escape the monotony of 'an' recurring thrice at the same place in the verse, and gain an admirably appropriate division of the names into three periods: first the founder; next the two typical kings, lawgiver and conqueror; then the heroes, vanquished and victorious, of the commonwealth.

In v. 31 of this ode I fancy the MSS readings point to 'et minax, sicut uoluere, ponto | unda recumbit'. The vulgate 'quod sic' has no great authority: most MSS offer 'quia sic', a strange piece of perversity if 'quod' was the original. *sicut* is abbreviated *sic̄* and so confused with *sic*; and the variations of the MSS look like attempts to fill up the metrical gap thus left: similarly in Ouid. trist. I 3 87 'talia temptabat *sicut* temptauerat ante' are found the readings *et sic* and *sic et*. Horace's most ancient MS, the old Bernese, actually gives *qui. sic.*

Those who have learnt from Mr Keller that the Horatian archetype belonged to the first century after Christ will enquire whether it is probable that *o* would be written for *e*, or possible that *sicut* could be abbreviated *sic̄*, in a MS of that date. It is therefore necessary to say that this first century archetype is a figment, convenient indeed to an editor who aims at repressing, as far as may be, conjectural alteration of the text, but neither proven nor even, with our materials, susceptible of proof. I am not concerned to maintain that the Horatian archetype was written so late as 700 A.D.; but no one can shew that it was written earlier. Anyhow, when none of the extant MSS are older than the year 800, the onus probandi rests with those who would set the archetype back. I will here deal with the only argument on that side I can even imagine. It may be said that since some of our MSS have the Mavortian subscription while others have it not, therefore the archetype was earlier than the recension of Mauortius, consul 527 A.D. But of course it may be maintained with equal plausibility even a priore that the archetype had the Mavortian subscription, only that certain apographs, from which some of our MSS are descended, omitted it, while others, from which others are descended, copied it out. And happily we are not reduced to arguing a priore. The two

MSS which Mr Keller calls A and *a* are twin brothers descended from a lost MS which Mr Keller calls A′. Now the Mavortian subscription exists in A and therefore existed in A′; yet in *a* it does not exist. But *a* is none the less Mavortian for that: its writer merely omitted to copy out the subscription. The fact then that the subscription is absent from many of our MSS in no way debars us from holding with Bentley that they all belong to the Mavortian recension and all converge in an archetype later than Mauortius.

Carm. II 2 1—4.

Nullus argento color est auaris
abdito terris, minuitque lamnae,
Crispe Sallusti, nisi temperato
splendeat usu.

So I should now emend the 'inimice' of the MSS. The difficulty of the vulgate is briefly this. The clause 'nisi splendeat' depends of course on the vocative; so that the sole predication contained in the quatrain is 'nullus argento color est auaris abdito terris'. Now if these words mean, as they naturally should, *silver shines not in the mine*, then the mere statement of this fact is no such enunciation of the theme *thou shalt not covet* as would enable the writer straightway to proceed from his text to his examples with 'uiuet extento Proculeius aeuo' and the rest: the covetous do not propose to leave silver in the *mine*. It therefore becomes necessary with Porphyrion Bentley and most other critics to make 'terris' mean the *burying-place* of treasure. But this interpretation, less natural in itself, seems to be forbidden not only by the parallel carm. III 3 49 sqq. 'aurum *inrepertum*...cum *terra celat*...cogere humanos in *usus*' but above all by the senarius, preserved in Plut. de uit. pud. III p. 148, which Horace is here translating: *οὐκ ἔστ' ἐν ἄντροις λευκὸς, ὦ ξέν', ἄργυρος*. If then to escape this dilemma resort is had to conjecture, the conjecture should be one which will at the same time restore symmetry to the sentence, four sevenths of which are at present occupied by a vocative trailing after it a string of dependants, three sevenths only by the sentiment enunciated. Regarding 'inimice' therefore as the seat of cor-

ruption I proposed in vol. x of this Journal the conjecture 'minimusque', which I think removes all difficulty. But the correction I now offer is nearer to the MSS, and there is external evidence which appears to shew that it stood for four centuries in the text of Horace: Prud. contra Symm. II 753 'candor *perit* argenti, si defuit usus, | et fuscata situ *corrumpit* uena colorem' is surely neither more nor less than a paraphrase of the verses as written above. The examples in the lexicons of 'minuo' intransitive are confined to the pres. part., but I rely more on the analogy of 'augeo' and on the number of transitive verbs whose intransitive use is found once or hardly oftener. The old and widespread confusion of *qu* and *c* pervades our MSS: see serm. II 1 74, 2 41, 8 48, 52, ars 186 *coquo* and *quoquo*, carm. II 9 7 *querqueta* and *querceta*, III 3 17 *elocuta* and *eloquuta*, 27 7 *cui* and *quid*, IV 8 25 *Aeacum* and *aequum*, c. saec. 22 *cantus* and *quantus*, serm. I 4 19 *hirquinis* and *hircinis*, ars 426 *cui* and *qui*, 456 *secuntur* and *sequuntur*: all the MSS collated by Holder have *quassa* for *cassa* in serm. II 5 36 and *quorsum* for *cursum* in 3 201. As for *minuit* and *inimi*, any sequences of the letters *i, m, n, t, u* (also *l, r*, often *b*) are absolutely interchangeable if the number of downstrokes is the same, as epod. 11 16 *uentis* and *uenus*, serm. I 4 87 *unus* and *imus*, epist. II 1 198 *nimio* and *mimo*, ars 32 *unus* and *imus*: often too a scribe will lose count and write carm. I 15 20 *cultus* for *crinis*, II 6 19 *nimium* for *minimum*, IV 14 28 *minatur* for *minitatur*, serm. I 5 15 *absentem* for *absentem ut*. An almost perfect parallel is Catull. 25 12 *inimica* for *minuta*.

Munro told me that he, feeling the same difficulty as I about 'auaris terris', had jotted down years ago, though without setting much store by it, the conjecture 'abdito thecis'.

Carm. II 18 32—40.

Aequa tellus
pauperi recluditur
regumque pueris, nec satelles Orci
callidum Promethea
reuexit auro captus. hic superbum
Tantalum atque Tantali

genus coercet, hic leuare functum
pauperem laboribus
uocatus atque non uocatus audit. 40

We are apt to think that the 'auro captus' of this passage finds a parallel in epist. II 2 179 'si metit Orcus | grandia cum paruis non exorabilis auro'; but look close and the likeness vanishes. When Death is abroad, scythe in hand, and threatens to mow the rich man down, the rich man may offer his gold for his life: it is vain, but yet he may offer it; and this is the picture in epist. II 2 179. But here the picture is quite another one. The word 'reuexit' shews that we speak of one who is already on the yonder side of Styx: now such a one cannot offer gold, he has no gold to offer, he has left his riches to other: one coin is all that comes to the ferry, no coin crosses. And this is only the first of the difficulties that beset us here. Why is it said that Prometheus, of all people in the world, could not find issue from hell by the help of gold? Croesus or Alcinous or any other type of wealth I could have understood; but Prometheus is no type of wealth: he is a type of subtlety. And to make matters worse it is on his subtlety that Horace here insists: 'callidum Promethea' he calls him: what sort or kind of fitness is there in saying that Prometheus the *subtle* could not buy liberty with *gold*? It wants little subtlety to bribe: Midas, ears and all, is better equipped for bribery than any Prometheus. Then consider the concluding sentence: 'hic' following immediately on 'captus' refers naturally, I do not say inevitably, to the substantive with which 'captus' agrees: that is, not to 'Orci', but to 'satelles Orci', Charon. Now 'Tantalum coercet' may be said of Charon with truth, but it cannot with truth be said of him 'leuare pauperem uocatus audit': to relieve people of life is no business of Charon's: he does but ferry them over when they come dead to the bank.

Here are three difficulties, severally I think not light, heavy assuredly in conjunction; and the change of one letter abolishes them all.

nec satelles Orci
callidum Promethea 35

reuexit. aure captus hic superbum
Tantalum atque Tantali
genus coercet, hic leuare functum
pauperem laboribus
uocatus atque non uocatus audit. 40

The corruption as I said on I 12 35 is palaeographically of the easiest sort; moreover in this context the scribe's temptation to write 'auro' was manifestly strong, and so perhaps may be the reader's reluctance to part with it. Yet aside from the graver objections already considered it really involves Horace in tautology, for 'nec satelles Orci Promethea reuexit *auro captus*' and 'hic Tantalum coercet' come to just the same thing, 'there is no egress for the great': observe, the presence of 'auro captus' prevents the laying of such stress on 'callidum' as would be necessary for an antithesis between the *calliditas* of Prometheus and the *superbia* of Tantalus. I interpret as follows. 'The grave flings wide its gates for the impartial welcome of high and low, rich and poor; and for him who once has entered, issue there is none, no, not for Prometheus' self, charm he never so wisely'. That is, both rich and poor die: neither, by any art, comes back to life. Now he goes on to make a fresh point: to contrast the hopelessness, even for the mightiest, of return from hell, with the readiness, even for the meanest, of access thither. 'Death holds in prison Tantalus the proud, him and his seed with him, deaf to their prayers: deaf to them, yet keen to hear and succour the poor that call upon him, the poor that call upon him not.' Surely I do not deceive myself in thinking that the contrast thus obtained between 'aure captus' (= surdus)[1] at the opening of the sentence and 'non uocatus audit' at the close is fine and impressive. For this reason, as well as to avoid the difficulty about 'hic', I have placed the stop after 'reuexit'; but the correction 'aure' does not necessitate that change of punctuation, and those whom the difficulty in

[1] A prose writer no doubt would say 'auribus', but the poets a hundred times over in all manner of connexions use the singular 'auris' when they mean the plural; and compare Liu. IX 29 11 'Appium...luminibus captum' with Ouid. fast. VI 204 'Appius...lumine captus'.

question does not trouble may prefer to take 'aure captus' with 'nec satelles Promethea reuexit' as 'deaf to his cajoleries'.

Carm. III 4 9—13.

Me fabulosae Volture in Apulo
nutricis extra limina pulliae
ludo fatigatumque somno
fronde noua puerum palumbes
texere.

10 *limina pulliae* AαBR, *limina puliae* L, *limen apulliae* τ, *limen apuliae* MCγφψλδεπρbuv. No competent metrist now entertains a thought of 'ăpuliae' any more than of 'ăpulicum' in 24 4; and the presence of 'ăpulo' in the line above has given pause even to editors whose strength lies elsewhere than in metre. Clearly 'apuliae' is a conjecture suggested by the word overhead: the hand of Horace must be sought in the 'limina pulliae' offered by four of the best and oldest MSS, which has at least this note of sincerity, that it is quite unmeaning. To help us in the search we get light, for a wonder, from the collection of scholia which bears the name of Acron. They are seldom of use, but every trace of a reading not now found in the MSS deserves close attention; and the scholion 'paruus extra casae limen expositus lauro myrtoque columbis deferentibus tectus' shews that where we read 'pulliae' the scholiast read a word meaning 'casae'. Two or three scholars have independently conjectured 'uillulae': this explains the scholion and comes near enough to the MSS; but Munro's objection seems fatal. From Horace's odes diminutives are virtually exiled: 'puella' and 'uilla' for an obvious reason he admits, and he admits 'parmula' in a humorous passage II 7 10. But 'uillula' is the diminutive of a diminutive; and this the most ambitious of all his odes is the last place where such a word could enter: 'descende caelo et die age tibia regina longum Calliope melos'! the goddess thus invoked will hardly I think descend to 'uillula'. Try then another solution. The letter *g* is sometimes confused with *b* or *n* or *u* and is then subject to that blending with similar letters of which I spoke on

II 2 2. The following are varied instances of what I mean: carm. I 3 19 *turgidum* and *turbidum*, 9 5 *ligna* and *luna*, epod. 2 18 *agris* and *aruis*, 17 81 *agentis* and *habentis*, serm. I 4 25 *elige* and *erue*, 6 13 *fugit* and *fuit*, II 3 291 *mane* and *magne*, epist. I 10 36 *frenum* and *regnum*, 43 *uret* and *urget*. I believe that even in Virgil we ought to write Aen. I 343 *auri* for *agri* with Huet and VII 543 *peragrans* for *per auras* with Canter; and anyhow in Horace the confusion of *gul* with *ulli* is quite possible. I suggest then that *pulliae* stands for *pgulae*: 'nutricis extra limina pergulae', *without the threshold of the hut that bred me.*

Carm. III 5 31—40.

Si pugnat extricata densis
cerua plagis, erit ille fortis
qui perfidis se credidit hostibus,
et Marte Poenos proteret altero
qui lora restrictis lacertis
sensit iners timuitque mortem.
hic, unde uitam sumeret inscius,
pacem duello miscuit. o pudor!
o magna Karthago probrosis
altior Italiae ruinis.

37 *inscius* A*a*BCMR$\gamma\tau\phi\psi\lambda l\pi$, *aptius* $\delta z\rho buv$LA2ϕ2λuar.ψuar. Let me be forgiven if I repeat the words in which I formerly stated as shortly as I could the objections to the above text. "In this the reading of most MSS and well-nigh all editions Bentley justly finds fault with the lame climax 'timuitque mortem', and 'hic' used where the poet should and might have used 'ille': he might too have added, what sort of writer is Horace if 'mortem' and 'uitam' here have nothing to do with one another? But there is this deeper fault in the reading, that it makes Regulus lose the thread of his argument; for what is he debating? not what is done and cannot be undone, the surrender of the army, but its ransom, the matter in hand: his aim is to fence off the pernicies ueniens in aeuum, the flagitio additum damnum, the probrosae Italiae ruinae, and down to v. 36 he is

speaking straight to the point; but here with a full stop at 'mortem' he loses his way and drifts off into mere exclamation about what is past mending and will remain the same whether he gains his cause or loses it." Add that if 'inscius' was the original the senseless variant 'aptius' is nothing short of inexplicable: an interpolator tries to remove difficulties, not to import them.

The meaning and general form of the sentence were restored, I cannot doubt, by Bentley: 'timuitque mortem | hinc, unde uitam sumeret aptius, | pacem et duello miscuit'. The soldier should seek life from battle and his sword: these soldiers feared death from that quarter and sought life from surrender, 'dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiuere' as Bentley quotes from Sallust. Following Bentley I proposed 'pacemque bello' as nearer the MSS (*be* dropping out after *ue* and leaving 'pacemquello' to beget the present text) and perhaps more consonant with the usage of Horace who thrice opposes 'pax' and 'bellum', once 'pax' and 'duella', 'pax' and 'duellum' here only, if here. But there remains this obvious and unanswerable objection: if Horace wrote 'aptius', how got 'inscius' into most MSS and those the best?

At last I think I have not only Horace's meaning but the words in which he put it:

timuitque mortem
hinc, unde uitam sumere iustius,
pacemque *be*llo miscuit.

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that 'iustius' and 'inscius' are the same thing: to illustrate the error would be mere waste of time. The amendment 'sumeret' was inevitable if only for the metrical reason; but maybe the *t* is a misunderstood correction of the *c* in the next word. And now it becomes easy to explain the origin of 'aptius': the corruption 'sumeret inscius' took place while 'hinc' stood yet in the verse, so that the passage ran nonsensically thus, 'timuitque mortem hinc unde uitam sumeret inscius': plainly a comparative was wanted in lieu of 'inscius', and 'aptius' fulfilled all requirements.

Carm. IV 6 13—20.

Ille non inclusus equo Mineruae
sacra mentito male feriatos
Troas et laetam Priami choreis
falleret aulam,
sed palam captis grauis, heu nefas heu,
nescios fari pueros Achiuis
ureret flammis, etiam latentem
matris in aluo.

17 *captis* AαBCRγβ*fh*, omis. φψδεπL*ρbt*, *uictor u v*. It is not merely this conflict of testimony which has thrown doubt on 'captis', but the intrinsic demerits of the word. One could not well devise a stranger way of contrasting the boldness of Achilles with the craft of Ulysses than to call the former *terrible to captives*: to captives, be they palam capti or clam, Ulysses, or for the matter of that Thersites either, might be full as terrible as he: 'captis grauis' indeed, witness the Attic stage, Ulysses preeminently was. The sort of word required is plain, a word to answer 'male feriatos' and 'laetam choreis' just as 'palam' will answer 'mentito' and 'falleret'. Such a word the change of one letter will furnish: Achilles was 'cautis grauis', terrible to forewarned and forearmed opponents: he disdained to take them, like Ulysses, unawares. The δὶς ταυτόν of 'palam' and 'cautis' is intentional and exactly matched by Verg. Aen. I 350 '*clam* ferro *incautum* superat'; but I chiefly put my trust in the following words of Ovid, where the same pleonasm is employed concerning that very Ulysses with whom Achilles is here contrasted by Horace: met. XIII 103 sq. 'quo tamen haec Ithaco? qui *clam*, qui semper inermis | rem gerit et furtis *incautum* decipit hostem'. Horace's MSS have these instances of *u* confused with *p*: carm. III 27 15 *uetet* and *petet*, IV 2 27 *apis* and *auis*, 4 43 *uel* and *per*, epod. 2 25 *riuis* and *ripis*, epist. I 10 18 *diuellat* and *depellat*, ars 378 *uergit* and *pergit*: I should be disposed to add carm. II 10 9 *saepius* for *saeuius*. It is now easier to understand how the word was lost

from so many MSS, for GRAVIS and CAVTIS virtually have five out of their six letters in common: 'uictor' of course is a mere conjecture.

Carm. IV 13 17—22.

Quo fugit uenus heu quoue color? decens
quo motus? quid habes illius, illius,
  quae spirabat amores,
    quae me surpuerat mihi
felix post Cinaram, notaque et artium
gratarum facies?

The old punctuation of v. 21 'notaque, et artium' was exploded by Bentley: we must join together 'nota artium', like II 2 6 'notus in fratres animi paterni'. I see it stated that 'the construction is unexampled': well, Bentley gives four examples of this unexampled construction, and if that is not enough, here is a fifth: Prop. I 16 2 'ianua Tarpeiae nota pudicitiae'. Yet I hardly think that the present text with 'et'='etiam', though almost universally accepted as the lesser evil, can really satisfy many: sure I am that were this a copy of verses one had shewn up at school one would have been told that the 'et' was a lame device to help out the metre. What Horace more probably wrote I fancy is this: 'nota quot artium | gratarum facies': 'quot' seems to be just what is wanted, as it is on the *number* of these 'artes' that the poets are wont to insist: IV 1 15 '*centum* puer artium', Prop. I 4 13 'ingenuus color et *multis* decus artibus'. This exclamatory use of 'quot' for 'mille' or any indefinitely large number is illustrated by Munro on carm. II 3 11 in vol. IX of this Journal, from whom I take these instances: Mart. XIII 95 'matutinarum non ultima praeda ferarum | saeuos oryx constat *quot* mihi morte canum', Iuu. VI 276 sqq. 'tu tibi tunc, uruca, places fletumque labellis | exsorbes, quae scripta et *quot* lecture tabellas, | si tibi zelotypae retegantur scrinia moechae'. The corruption of 'quot' to 'que et' is of course easy, *o* and *e* being as we have seen so much alike; but more than this, the very

same error occurs in Ouid. her. 12 17. The best MS there, that known as P, which in age and character is own brother to the principal MSS of Horace, has 'semina iecisset totidem*que et* seminat et hostes': there can be hardly a doubt about the correctness of Madvig's and Palmer's 'semina iecisset, totidem, *quot* semina, et hostes'.

Epod. 8 15—18.

Quid quod libelli Stoici inter sericos
iacere puluillos amant?
inlitterati num minus nerui rigent
minusue languet fascinum?

If this precious piece was worth writing I suppose it is worth emending: we need not have it more corrupt than its author sent it forth. To clear the ground for criticism we must first brush aside the extraordinary conjecture 'magisue' in v. 18 which Bentley adopts from Guietus. With virtuous indignation he declines to say what he means by it; and later critics one after another profess themselves unable to guess. The fact is he took 'inlitterati' = 'inlitteratorum' and 'fascinum' = ὄλισβος, wrongly of course: the austere divine in a transport of moral severity has thrust upon the passage a much worse meaning than the heathen poet ever intended it to bear. When these misapprehensions are dismissed, the problem resolves itself to this: sense requires that 'rigent' should mean 'torpent'; language forbids. In this connexion *rigeo, rigor, rigidus* can have only one meaning, and that is the exact reverse of the meaning required. Everything would be set right by Meineke's rather rough alteration 'num magis' for 'num minus' in v. 17; that is 'num propterea nerui mei, qui litteras nesciunt, magis rigent, minusue languet fascinum meum?' But Mr Keller puts forward an interpretation of the MS reading which is worth transcribing entire: 'ei da sehe ich ja gar stoische Bücher in deinem Boudoir; glaubst du denn dass nur wer philosophisch gebildet ist, *neruum bene rigentem* habe, oder dass durch solche Mittelchen mein *fascinum minus languet?*' This is the stage to which four hundred years of editing have advanced the

criticism of Horace. If 'nerui' means nerui inlitteratorum then 'fascinum' can no more mean fascinum meum than it can mean fascinum Luci Titi: possessive pronouns cannot thus be summoned at will from the vasty deep. Admire too the style of the poet: you might think that the 'minus' of v. 17 and the 'minus' of v. 18 had something to do with one another; but no: the former is to mean minus quam litteratorum nerui rigent, the latter is to mean minus quam langueret si libelli inter puluillos non iacerent.

The right and necessary sense, the sense of Meineke's conjecture, I propose to restore by a slighter change than his:

> inlitterati num minus nerui pigrent
> minusue languet fascinum?

The verb no doubt was antiquated in Horace's day, nor would I introduce it into the odes; but in the epodes it will keep company with the 'edit' of 3 3. So rare a word was well-nigh sure to perish; but apart from that, this form of error, in which the transposition of one letter is united with the subtraction or addition of another, has examples everywhere: I take the following almost at haphazard: Lucr. I 741 *casu* and *causa*, II 1169 *caelum* and *saeclum*, V 186 *specimen* and *speciem*, VI 179 *liquescit* and *quiescit*, Hor. carm. III 2 22 *iter* and *ire*, serm. I 3 56 *incrustare* and *incurtare*, II 7 43 *crispini* and *crisipi*, Tibull. II 1 66 *applauso* and *appulso*, 5 70 *pertulerit* and *perluerit*, III 2 27 *casum* and *causam*, pan. Mess. 72 *fera* and *freta*, Prop. I 16 12 *purior* and *turpior*, IV 1 30 *tatio* and *tacito*, 8 39 *crotalistria* and *coralistria*, Ouid. met. I 196 *superi* and *pueri*, VI 77 *fretum* and *ferum*, fast. IV 766 *lupo* and *duplo*. The epodes contain I believe another instance in 13 11—14:

> nobilis ut grandi cecinit Centaurus alumno:
> 'inuicte mortalis dea nate puer Thetide,
> te manet Assaraci tellus, quam frigida parui
> findunt Scamandri flumina, lubricus et Simois.'

When one recalls the majesty with which this μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης is invested by Homer, and the terrific combat it was

to wage with this very Achilles, *κυκώμενος, ὑψόσε θύων, μορμύρων ἀφρῷ τε καὶ αἵματι καὶ νεκύεσσιν*, the epithet 'parui' assumes an elaborate infelicity which can hardly be surpassed. Orelli offers the amazing defence that the Scamander either shrank or fell into contempt after Homer's time: yes, but Chiron is the speaker; Chiron did not live after Homer's time. What would be thought of a modern poet who should make Chiron tell Achilles that his destination was Troy, excavated by Dr Schliemann's spade? yet that is what Orelli and his followers impute to Horace. I would rather impute it to his copyists. What one most naturally expects is an epithet meaning *ξάνθος*, and so Nic. Heinsius proposes 'flaui', but Bentley with reason rejects this in an author so chary of alliteration. Six or seven years ago I communicated to Munro the conjecture 'raui'; it must not however be set down as mine, as I have since seen it proposed in some foreign journal, where and by whom I unluckily cannot now discover[1]. Forcellini has a passage from Cicero to prove that the word can be applied to the colour of water; but it is to shew its palaeographical probability that I am writing now. Horace uses 'rauos' in epod. 16 33 where the MSS give the following extraordinary array of corruptions: 'flauos, fuluos, saeuos, grauos, prauos': now in our passage the commentator of Cruquius mentions a variant 'praui'. But I especially appeal to Ouid. ars II 659 where everyone reads and must read 'si straba, sit Veneris similis, si raua, Mineruae': well, 'raua' is the correction of Heinsius: the MS has 'parua'.

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[1] By Oberdick in the *Neue Jahrbuecher* vol. 123, p. 372.

(To be continued)

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AND SONS, AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.